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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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4 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN, EAST GERMAN HISTORIANS MEET IN SIBIU

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Oct 83 pp 1039-1042

[Report by Ioan Chiper]

[Text] The Fourth Meeting of the Joint Commission of Romanian and East German Historians met in Sibiu on 24-30 May 1983.

The Romanian delegation was composed of Prof Titu Georgescu, chairman, Dr Ioan Chiper, secretary, Dr Ion Alexandrescu, Dr Vasile Ciobanu, Prof Carol Gollner, Lecturer Teodor Pavel, Dr Aurica Simon, and Dr Gheorghe Unc.

The GDR delegation consisted of Prof Fritz Klein, chairman, Dr Margot Hegemann, secretary, Prof Helmut Bleiber, Dr Gerhard Brendler, Dr Dietrich Eichholtz, Prof Heinz Hummler, Dr Eva Seeber, and Prof Walter Wimmer.

The topic of the meeting was "The Struggle of the Revolutionary, Antifascist, and Democratic Forces for Ending the War, and for Social and National Liberation (1939-1948/1949)."

The meeting was opened by two addresses in which the commission observed the 165th birthday of Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism, and the 100th anniversary of his death.

In his paper, "Acceptance of Marxism in Romania and Creation of the PSDMR (Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania)," Prof Titu Georgescu described the phases of the penetration of Marxism into Romanian intellectual circles, its presence in the programs of the socialist movement, and the position of Marxism in the founding of the workers' party in 1893. As successor of that party, the RCP adopted from the beginning a theoretical and practical orientation along Marxist ideology. During the revolution and the building of socialism in Romania, Marxism represented an open theory, unfettered by immutable, ultimate formulas. The author pointed out that Marx created a monumental concept of mankind's development, a concept whose dimensions and implications acquire their true value from its militant, constructive, innovative dialectic, opposed to any dogmatic formulas or canons.

Prof Helmut Bleiber presented the paper "Karl Marx, Founder of the Scientific Revolutionary Theory," in which he summarized the premises leading to the birth of the Marxist concept of revolution, as well as its constructive elements. The author presented the major observations and conclusions that Karl Marx reached after analyzing the experiences of bourgeois revolutions, and then stressed the Marxist position on the proletarian revolution. In closing his address, the author pointed out that Marx's teaching is not a closed entity, but rather that it is "enriched and creatively applied to the new conditions of our times, and to existing specific regional and national features."

The next speakers were Gh. Unc, Fr. Klein, W. Wimmer, H. Bleiber, and T. Georgescu, who added their comments to the two communications.

In all, 10 papers were presented during the fourth meeting of the commission on the topic mentioned above.

In her paper, "Confrontations Within the Antihitlerian Coalition on the Concept of Security Along the Soviet Border (1943/1945)," Dr Eva Seeber expressed her opinion regarding the disputes within the antihitlerian coalition about the postwar situation of Russia's western border. The author assessed the border and political problems of east-central and south-central Europe from the standpoint of the conflict of interests between Russia and the other big powers of the antihitlerian coalition, and concluded that the Russian security interests were sanctioned by the decisions of the Yalta conference in February 1945.

This communication led to an exchange of opinions (I. Chiper, T. Georgescu, Eva Seeber, H. Hummler, and Fr. Klein) about the evolution of relations among the big powers of the antihitlerian coalition and its historical importance, about the content of the formulas "zones of influence" and "zones of security," and so on. The Romanian historians observed that the paper did not take into consideration the interests of small and medium-sized countries, and raised some points regarding some aspects of Romania's history.

In his paper, "Traits of the Antihitlerian Resistance in Romania," Dr Aurica Simion specified the characteristic elements of the resistance movement in our country, and illustrated with significant examples its various manifestations and aspects, delving in the last portion of the paper, on the circumstances and consequences of the formation of the National Democratic Bloc. The communication shows that the evolution and constant expansion of the resistance movement in Romania during 1940-1944, the political alliances that were made, and the concrete forms of the struggle, from the simplest ones to the national insurrection of August 1944, are all proofs of the realism of the tactics and of the mobilization, organization, and leadership capabilities of the RCP.

In the discussions which followed, G. Brendler, D. Eichholtz, Margot Hegemann, W. Wimmer, Gh. Unc, T. Georgescu, and I. Chiper further examined several aspects of the resistance movement in Romania and of PCR's activity, pointing out among other things, the essential differences in the nature and consequences of the events through which Italy in 1943, and Romania in 1944, left the Hitlerian coalition.

The paper "August 1944, Beginning of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation," presented by Dr Gh. Unc, described the revolutionary process in Romania between 23 August 1944 and 6 March 1945. In this framework, the author showed the dialectic connection between the two fundamental sides of the Romanian national and social revolution, as well as RCP's capability to creatively apply the general laws of the revolution to Romania's concrete economic, social, and national historical conditions. He also emphasized that by conducting a vast organizational and political activity, together with the PSD (Social Democratic Party) and the other revolutionary and democratic forces, the RCP has joined together the major forces of the nation into the revolutionary process.

Dr Margo Hegemann, in her paper "Regarding the Development of National Fronts in Central and Southeast Europe During the First Stage of the Popular Democratic Revolution," followed with a comparative presentation of the evolution--and role--of the coalitions of revolutionary, democratic, and patriotic forces in Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia during the immediate postwar period. During the discussion (I. Alexandrescu, V. Ciobanu, W. Wimmer, Fr. Klein, Margot Hegemann, and T. Georgescu), the Romanian historians pointed out among other things, the specific aspects of the coalition achieved in Romania during the summer of 1944, as well as the nature of its tasks, and noted the fact that in Romania, the balance changed decisively in favor of the democratic-popular forces on 6 March 1945, while in other countries mentioned in the paper, this balance became clear only later.

"The Importance of the Romanian Insurrection of August 1944 in Shortening World War II," was the title of the communication presented by Dr Ioan Chiper. The author indicated the factors through which Romania's insurrection in 1944 hastened the victory over Nazi Germany, and then demonstrated on the basis of documents the manner in which the Soviet and German commands modified their operations plans and intentions following the enormous breach in the front determined by the Romanian insurrection. He also stressed the economic and political consequences of the insurrection in shortening the duration of the war. The discussions which followed (Margot Hegemann, D. Eichholz, Gh. Unc, I. Alexandrescu, I. Chiper, and T. Georgescu) were an occasion for additional clarifications about the significance of the Romanian insurrection, as well as for expressing some opinions regarding the value of historical sources, and the usefulness of having GDR's historiography also undertake studies concerning the shift in resistance and the insurrection in Romania.

During the meeting, Prof Heinz Hummler presented the communication "The Alliance Policy of PSUG During the Antifascist Democratic Transformations." The author described the concept of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), formulated even before the war, regarding a broad political alliance, and the line promoted in this respect by the party and later by PSUG during the first postwar years. The paper presented the PSUG positions toward various social classes and categories, the political, economic, and social measures, the reforms, and so on, which have allowed the planned alliance policy, and

assured the successful fulfillment of the antifascist democratic transformations. The discussions, with the participation of V. Ciobanu, H. Hummler, and W. Wimmer, added further information about the concrete manner in which KPD and PSUG forged their alliances during the period in question.

The communication "Postwar Plans of Fascist German Imperialism, 1943-1945," written by Dr Dietrich Eichholtz, referred to the solutions planned by representatives of some financial and industrial circles of Nazi Germany--first in 1942 by those grouped around the Reichsbank, then in December 1943 as part of the "Circle for Europe," and in March 1944 also as part of the "Work Circle for Foreign Economic Problems," which was a consulting organ to the Ministry of Economy, as well as as part of other work groups and institutions--to safeguard and impose their interests should Germany lose the war.

The discussions, which received the participation of Eva Seeber, I. Chiper, Fr. Klein, and D. Eichholtz, noted that the communication's contents had never been published before, as well as the need to carry out further research on whether any one in the political leadership of Nazi Germany had any knowledge of these plans, and so on.

In his paper, "Concepts of Political Parties in Romania Regarding the Country's Postwar Evolution," Dr Ion Alexandrescu presented the evolution of the major government political parties at the beginning of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, their consensus about large foreign problems, and the confrontations--which at times acquired dramatic overtones--over domestic political matters. The author stressed the political realism of leftist political forces, led by the communist party, and their ability to find efficient and viable solutions, accepted by the great majority of the Romanian people, as well as to attack the essential problems of the times from positions consistent with the interests of the masses. According to the author, that is exactly what explains the complete success of the political alliances promoted by the RCP, whose result was the establishment of the worker-peasant power on 6 March 1945.

In the paper "On the Orientation of German Communists in Exploiting the Military Crushing of German Fascism for Germany's Revolutionary Transformation," Prof Walter Wimmer first analyzed the position of the German communists before and at the beginning of World War II, particularly in terms of the resolution of the so-called conference of the KPD in Bern in 1939, in connection with the alliance policy intended to eliminate the nazi dictatorship and allow the creation of a democratic republic. The author then dwelled on the orientation of German communists under the specific conditions of their country during the immediate postwar period, associated with the military defeat of nazi Germany and the establishment of zones of occupation--as well as the different conditions existing in these zones--to assure the antifascist-democratic transformation in Germany, in accordance with the KPD proclamation of 11 June 1945.

During the meeting, Dr Vasile Ciobanu presented the paper "The Alliance Policy of the RCP in the Struggle to Gain Political Power." The author noted that "the RCP alliance policy was determined by the evolution path of the political power problem," and briefly analyzed the major implementations of the RCP alliance policy in 1944-1947. The paper also pointed out that the RCP alliance policy took into consideration the specific aspects of the Romanian society, and that history has validated the appropriateness of this policy.

The meeting was also the occasion for an exchange of information about the results of research conducted in recent years, and about historical research projects in the two countries.

News from GDR were offered by Prof Fritz Klein and Prof Walter Wimmer. Fritz Klein pointed out that in the GDR historiography, in addition to the history of the workers' movement, which will continue to be the focus of concern, further research has been conducted on the historical traditions of the German people. The speaker mentioned that in December 1982, the first volume of a history of the German people, which will contain 12 volumes (volumes II and III will be published as early as 1983) was unveiled at the national congress of GDR historians. Moreover, volume VI--the last one--of the "History of Germany in World War II" will appear in 1984-1985. Fr. Klein stressed the importance granted to the history of Prussia and of Martin Luther and his times, and referred to some of the results of the research or projects on these two topics, as well as to the results obtained in other areas of historical research in GDR. Also noted were the attention devoted to universal history research, including the history of some countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

W. Wimmer referred to research in the history of the PSUG and of the workers' movement, mentioning the writing of an extensive history of the PSUG in four volumes, beginning with Karl Marx and the Manifest of the Communist Party--the first three volumes of which are under discussion, the preparation of works regarding the history of unions, youth organizations, social-democracy between 1918 and 1945, criticisms of historical sources, and so on. The speaker referred to the works that were published during the past year on the 50th anniversary of the acquisition of power by the Nazis in Germany. W. Wimmer also referred to various historical research projects, such as: a history of the military policy of the workers' movement; an illustrated history of the Comintern; a lexicon of workers' organizations; a sort of anthology of the history of antifascism (the latter also associated with the topic of the next world meeting on history).

At this point on the agenda, on behalf of Romania's historians, Lecturer Teodor Pavel presented the paper "Evolution of Romanian Historiography Following the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences (August 1980-May 1983)," which summarized under the best conditions for the GDR colleagues, the major results obtained by Romanian researchers in recent years in the areas of archeology, and of ancient, intermediate, modern, and contemporary Romanian history, as well as in the area of auxiliary historical sciences.

The communications about the evolution of historiography in the two countries also generated lively interest, with discussions involving H. Bleiber, D. Eichholtz, Fr. Klein, Gh. Unc, T. Pavel, and T. Georgescu.

As part of the meeting of the joint commission, on the occasion of the 500th birthday of Martin Luther--an anniversary inscribed in the UNESCO calendar of events--Dr Gerhard Brendler presented the address "Revolutionary Values and Implications of Martin Luther's Theology."

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of respect and friendship, and exchanges of opinion were open, which proved useful for a better elucidation of some of the points raised in the communications, and for a better understanding of the results of historical research in the two countries.

Organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the meeting received the support and attention of the Sibiu County Committee of the RCP, and of the leaders of the Sibiu Higher Education Institute.

In connection with the meeting, the commission members visited historical monuments and cultural institutions in Sibiu, and conducted a documentation visit in the area surrounding Sibiu.

The topic of the commission's next meeting will be "The Struggle for Social Progress and National Independence of the Romanian and German People in the European Context of the 19th Century," and will be held in 1985 in GDR.

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SHORTAGE OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES FOR SHIFT WORKERS

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 42, 16 Oct 83 p 7

[Article by Brigitte Kirilow: "'Changed Shifts': Shift Workers in Their Leisure Time"]

[Text] The bus station in front of the VEB Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine resembles that of a small town. Three platforms and more than a dozen bus stops under a roof sheltering waiting benches.

But the people waiting are not travelers. This is immediately apparent. They are not looking around for anything. They all know the schedules and destinations. The fact that it is all routine gives them the appearance of casualness.

The bus station is the demarcation between their time at work and their time at leisure: every 8 hours, some head for work, others for leisure, depending on where they are coming from. The place is never completely empty. Day and night, the buses drive into the five kreise of the Cottbus Bezirk, for far more than half of the approximately 14,000 workers at the home factory of the Gas Combine work in shifts.

One becomes used to working shifts early in life. Usually beginning with the second year of apprenticeship, when classroom and on-the-job training start to rotate.

Many whose wishes exceed what they can afford with the apprentice money become acquainted with their future work collective in the summer months beforehand. The ones who opt for this early start are only 17 years old. So a new work rhythm pervades everyday life as early as this. "A chance for those who like variety," they say. This brings a variety to their time of leisure as well, for those on a rotating week--working with their collective on the first, second and third shift--have time off after 40 hours a week. There is a lot of free time at an unusual time of day.

Just how this time can be filled by the FDJ, club leaders of the Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine, the trade union, the city council of Hoyerswerda--where about 65 percent of the factory workers live--and finally by the shift workers

themselves is the subject on which apprentices and members of a youth brigade in the factory expressed themselves.

Sixteen kilometers from the combine, right at the entrance into Hoyerswerda, the dormitory for the Schwarz Pumpe apprentices is located in the city's newest development area. About one-third of the 1,500 apprentices live here. "It's a pretty nice place," one of them says matter-of-factly, not wanting to betray any youthful exuberance as he led us past the shower in the anteroom into his centrally heated room. Ten books on the shelf revealed a personal note. Otherwise, there was a double-decker bunk bed, a wardrobe, bookcase and empty tables.

The dorm director was waiting in the background. The rooms, shared by two or three apprentices, are designed primarily for sleeping and study. Aside from this, the occupants spend their time somewhere else.

There are 19 youth clubs in Hoyerswerda, and their programs were listed in the FDJ publication KONKRET 3 months ago. There is then no lack of information. Sometimes there are conflicts between choices and work schedules, but there are many possibilities for those working the first shift. Discos, parties, literary evenings, chanson evenings, jazz, lectures, live electronic music, groups such as the Neumis Rock Circus, Juergen Kerth, the Feuerstein Brigade or the Working People can be attended by anyone, starting at 5, 6, 7 or 8 o'clock. An even longer survey is provided by the yearbook published by the club leadership of the House of Mining and Energy Workers. This publication includes all of the social activities organized by the trade union, the FDJ leaders of the plant, and the 90-member board of club directors.

So, when the many interest groups and evening get-togethers in the youth clubs of the apprentice dorm are considered, there is no lack of organized activities after the first shift. But is it not true that--as an FDJ official said--a person gets in a certain mood only at a certain time of day? There are as many kinds of people as there are moods. So it can happen that the second-year trainees no longer--or do not yet--feel the urge to pursue the so-called good life after working the second or third shift, whereas the young people who have completed apprenticeship and are used to the irregular rhythm of sleeping and waking are more of a mind to get something going?

Sigrid R. explains: "I work a varying 7-day stretch in the lab at Pumpe: one time from Monday through Sunday, then Wednesday through Friday and Monday through Thursday; days off, rest days--all of that is sandwiched in between. Sometimes, when I come off the night shift, I go to visit some friends who have the same shift. It's best to look for friends on the same shift. Otherwise it gets complicated. We spend our time until the next shift listening to music or going swimming in the summer. When we're off, something simply has to be going on. We can sit home later."

Even for Sigrid R., the sleepless nights and days are the exception, but very few want to go right to bed after their shift. They complain that TV goes off too soon after their second shift and wish there were a movie theater open during the forenoon. Since there is not, they look for diversion wherever they

can find it and wait until they get on the first shift or in vocational classes that permit attendance at an evening event.

The demand for these events is great, for Hoyerswerda is a young city for the most part, and the average age of its residents is low. People buy tickets a half week in advance if their shift does not interfere. Those on the right shift during the advance sale of the tickets they want are most successful at this.

Recreation is simply a matter of organization, something demanded more of shift workers than of others. How would it be if, for example, the FDJ officials of the home organization made the ticket reservations, as has been done for a long time for parties organized by the youth organizations in the Gas Combine?

There is another request waiting for a response: the FDJ Central Council has been asked to arrange for repeat performances of popular events.

Ralf D. is 10 years older than Sigrid R. He is 31, a deputy shift director of the Fritz Weineck Youth Brigade at the Gas Combine, married and the father of two children. As is the case with most of those his age, his life now runs on a set course. The years spent making friends and finding a wife are over. So he is not upset if he is unable to get tickets for an event. He can find diversion somewhere else, within his own four walls, for instance. Here or at the home of colleagues from his shift, they meet for cards and beer, especially after the second shift.

There is plenty of time to sleep before the shift. Afterward he still has about 5 hours. He "listens" to the quiet of the house, "helps the wife," does some shopping, or makes things out of wood in the basement. Ten years ago Ralf, who is a trained cabinetmaker, was still earning money with these woodworking skills.

"Not enough," he complains, "400 marks. I wanted to get married. So I left cabinetmaking for the scaffolds at the Pumpe. Since 1977 I've been doing shift work. It's always 2 weeks on the first shift, 1 week on the second shift, and 1 week on the third. I'm used to it, and the money's right."

The money is right because the team does a good job. They make scaffolds for boilers, fasades and flues--dirty, noisy work with extremes of temperature. It has become routine for them--so routine that they can talk casually about the sweat breaks they get every 60 minutes after working in the hot boilers.

Soccer changes their tone. It offsets their strenuous work and also offers them another form of social life together, something this shift looks for even during leisure time.

Ralf D. goes to Graustein for practice, 3 kilometers away. He once lived there. He knows everybody around, even in the next village. "I like the up-roar after the game. You talk with everybody, and they know you. I would have gladly stayed in Graustein if we had had an apartment."

Those who did not grow up with their friends have a harder time finding any. Such things happen slowly in shift work and new surroundings. "Right after we moved in here, we and a few others converted a basement room into a club room in our spare time." But what happened after the first party was disappointing: "When the neighbors heard that something was going on down there, they came. That was fine. But the next day, hardly anyone said hello." People have to get used to having neighbors they seldom see.

But the ties between those who work together are closer. And they are formed so much the faster, the more a group's team effort determines the product of its labor. These relationships usually extend far beyond the time after the whistle blows. That is the way it is in the Fritz Weinick youth shift too. It is seldom the case that everybody does everything together, as in soccer, but there are always those who share interests. These might be the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] unit, a sponsored class, or dancing and sports in the surrounding towns. They meet regularly in the Kuchnichter Heide, the cafe with the good beer and the friendly, round-the-clock atmosphere. After a shift, even the married ones have time for a beer and some conversation about women, sports, politics and the job--"although we've sworn not to talk shop after hours." Afterwards, they have no trouble buying four or so tickets for the evening disco or for the band music on the weekend. At least there is no problem during nice weather when many leave Hoyerswerda for recreation at the lakes in the Lausitz area.

But during the cold months, this spontaneity gives way to the advance ticket sale on Monday, an institution known throughout the town. The turn out then depends a lot on age.

Ten years separate Ralf D. from Sigrid R., 10 years during which the need exclusively for dancing and loud music subsides. He does not haunt the youth clubs anymore. Stable relationships are replacing that restlessness experienced by the unsettled. His interests are stabilizing. Ralf D. and his friends love soccer and skittles. They would like to bowl more often on an alley in Hoyerswerda after the second or third shift. They organize many activities on their own. Their pastimes are becoming more and more sedate. The color TV is taking the place of the movie theater. Puzzles and all kinds of crafts are their "recreation." Work determines the form their leisure takes.

Sigrid R. wanted to come. She promised she would definitely wait for me at the entrance of the Alfred Scholz Hall of Culture and Sports. The performance began, and she was still not there. "Changed shifts," explained her friend laconically, sitting down by me on her cola.

On this evening, only half of the approximately 70 seats in the hall were filled. Some came for the disco which was to follow. Others like Alfons Foester. As a teacher of music and member of the Feuerstein Brigade, he is well-known in town. But most would have rather been dancing instead of listening to his 2-hour presentation titled "Cosmic Sounds and Punk Rock," music of the seventies. You hear over and over that the age group between 16 and 20 likes dancing, trips to Dresden or parties with quiz games and .

prizes. But that is not enough for the Feuersteiners, whose members are professionally concerned with how youth spends its leisure time. The members of the Feuerstein Brigade work as teachers, serve on the city's Culture Council, as director of the district's Choral Center, on the staff of the Youth Club House, or as instructor in the FDJ county directory. These people have more "ambitious" dreams: flickering lights above a theater advertising the next film for those on the way home after the second shift. Many like the idea. How long does a city need before modest dreams become vociferous?

9992

CSO: 2300/135

ETHICS OF HUMAN EXPERIMENTS DISCUSSED AT MEDICAL CONFERENCE

East Berlin DAS DEUTSCHE GESUNDHEITSWESEN in German No 43, 1983 pp 1700-1702

[Article by U. Koerner: "Interdisciplinary Study-Group 'Ethics in Medicine' Discusses 'Medical Tests on Humans,' 'Irreversible Contraception of the Male'"]

[Text] Recently, the second meeting in 1983 of the "Interdisciplinary Study-Group 'Ethics in Medicine'" on the ethical and legal questions of scientific experimentation involving human subjects took place. In addition to the main topic, questions involving the irreversible contraception of the male were discussed as the second point on the agenda.

Three lectures served as introduction of the first topic, the legal aspects by Dr Mandel, the ethical aspects by Dr Koerner and the methodological aspects by Dr Preiss.

Dr Mandel presented for discussion a set of propositions: "Principles of and criteria for the trial and introduction of new diagnostic and therapeutic procedures" which were made available to the participants. The material had also been already discussed in the Council of Medical Science. The propositions contain first of all assertions with respect to the legal guarantees to subjects participating in the introduction of new procedures. In detail, legal positions were taken regarding:

- the responsibility of the physician for all necessary measures for the safety of the subjects;
- the responsibility for the management of and permission for the trials;
- the group of subjects to be selected according to various criteria;
- methodological principles which serve to protect the subjects from dangers or injuries and to limit the risks as much as possible;
- the information of and consent by the subjects;
- decisions concerning the limited admissibility or inadmissibility of trials involving certain groups of people;

--questions of liability for damages and the compensation of healthy subjects for participation in a trial.

Dr Mandel pointed out that there is a dialectic relationship between the advances in medical knowledge, and the explorations involving new procedures, means and methods. The first rule is to guarantee a high degree of safety to the subjects. He stressed that, in a socialist society, the introduction of new procedures free of commercial considerations primarily serves the further enhancement of the quality of medical care.

Dr Koerner referred to the relationship between the questions of human trials and basic questions of ethics. In addition to the specific obligations to protect health and life, to protect the rights and dignity of man belongs among the basic ethical foundations of the medical profession. A basic requirement of socialistic-humanistic ethics is always to regard man as the subject and never to degrade him to a means to unrelated benefits. Undoubtedly there are dangers in connection with biomedical research on humans. Based on the capitalistic social order, grave abuses and criminal experimentations had occurred. The historical development of these was briefly illuminated up to declarations by the World Society of Physicians in Helsinki (1964) and in Tokyo (1975) as well as the establishment of the so-called ethics commissions in the United States and in other capitalist countries. The clear definition of principles which correspond to socialistic humanism and respect the subjects as socialistic personalities was emphasized as particularly important from the ethical point of view for two points:

1. For the manner of informed and voluntary consent whereby one naturally cannot ignore those limits to providing information which are derived from certain essential methodological features of the experimental protocol.
2. For the experimentation on children in which case it may be problematical to equate the consent given by parents or guardians with the free decision by a legally competent individual responsible for himself.

Here it is necessary both to determine the requirement for permission and also to agree on the criteria by which the permission for indispensable trials on certain children becomes justified. A good basis is already provided by the regulations involving drug trials according to which children may be included in trials only from step II on, at all. There is still lacking a systematic evaluation of the questions--both medical and ethical--associated with trials involving new diagnostic procedures and nondrug therapeutic regimens; a few relevant considerations were referred to.

Dr Preiss started with ethical problems derived from the specific methodological requirements of scientific investigations involving humans.

First, he referred to the reasons and requirements which make trials and experiments on humans indispensable. With regard to its useful application to man, every phenomenon observed in animal experiments must go through the final stage of trials. There is no direct way of transferring the results of animal experiments to man. For instance, there have been over 6,000 cancerostatics successfully tested in animal experiments which had no corresponding effect in

man. In addition, there are not suitable animal models at all for medical procedures in the case of diseases of the higher nervous system such as schizophrenia and depressions, or of psoriasis and acne, or ulcerative colitis, etc.

Second, a series of methodological requirements must be fulfilled which guarantee an unequivocally positive or negative result of the experiments. An unscientific experiment which does not lead to results through the inadequacy of methodology cannot be ethically advocated.

Third, Dr Preiss cited many individual requirements with respect to the qualifications and the working methods of the researcher carrying out human trials. The basic requirement is always scrupulous working methods where the concern about the affairs of the experimental subject is the number one consideration in comparison to the interest of science and society.

Dr Preiss discussed in detail the methodological requirements for randomization and the use of placebos, and the associated ethical problems and objections. While randomization was increasingly absolved from ethical objections through many countervailing methodological refinements, the use of placebos in experiments could be accepted only in a sharply limited fashion for ethical reasons:

Administration of a placebo should be ordered only when there is no promising treatment available or if, as a rule, a pronounced therapeutic effect unfolds after the administration of placebo alone.

In the center of discussion were questions associated with the information given to the subject and the freedom of his consent, the full scope of estimating risks and expected uses, which is bound to the physician's responsibility, and problems of suitable research controls. The problems of thorough information leading to the understanding of the investigations and thereby the freedom of consent for participation in trials are singled out as particularly in need of further ethical discussions. With respect to the readiness to participate in medical trials, one should be more oriented toward the increasing consciousness of social responsibility, past the satisfaction of immediate individual needs, to offer oneself for socially necessary and useful affairs and to see in it a meaningful mission in life. Professor Luther referred to the problem that even when efforts are made to act in the interest of society as a whole, differences of interest and ethical problems arise through the interest in contributing to the research, that even in the socialist society, the specific interest of the researcher can be the cause of ethical conflict situations. The question follows whether the ethically correct decisions could be arrived at with greater certainty by involving an interdisciplinary group composed of physicians, nonmedical experts and representatives of the public. As Professor Luther discussed further, it is important above all that ethics should not become the brakeshoe of research but rather that it should be an important task of the work group not merely to warn but to stimulate technical advance.

On the second topic of the meeting: "Aspects of Irreversible Contraception of the Male," certain considerations were presented by Professor Guenther (Jena)

for discussion which he had outlined and discussed in an introductory lecture. He started out with the basic concept, formulated analogously to the one in "instruction About the Irreversible Contraception in the Female" of April 1969, that the irreversible contraception of the male, as a method of avoiding pregnancy, should only be used as an exception since a good choice of domestically available reversible contraception methods make conscious family planning possible. However, in the presence of a considerable genetic burden in the male, with the certain expectation of serious dangers for the health and life of later children, irreversible contraception should be permitted. The man does not have to be married. As special conditions for undertaking the procedure, among others, the following should be fulfilled:

--counseling by the specialist in human genetics about the theoretical risks of a considerable genetic burden and the possibility of the prenatal diagnosis of certain genetic defects;

--information about the finality and about the risks and consequences of the intervention;

--the move toward action after a minimal 3-month-long waiting period and under the conditions of free decisionmaking;

--counseling and psychological guidance of the wife.

The main subject of discussion was the question how the proposed strict limitation of indications is justified in the case of considerable genetic burden of the male and to what extent, eventually also social indications should be allowed to a certain extent. The arguments concern the high percentage of those who wish to have their infertility reversed later--as expected on the basis of international experiences--and are confronted by a largely noncorrectable irreversibility of the procedure with resultant, difficult burdens on the individual and unsuccessful, expensive medical efforts.

In summary, Professor Luther pointed out that in all questions of experiments involving humans, as in the use of irreversible contraception, the issue is that the question not be approached either from the position of an individualistic ethic or from the purely socioethical standpoint but that the concrete individual interests are to be seen in the proper relationship to social interests which, at the same time, are essential conditions for the determination of the existence of the individual.

The themes dealt with here require continued efforts to find the appropriate answers and--to the extent that guidelines and legal norms are necessary--to make decisions through which individual rights and social obligations are secured in an objectively rooted manner optimally corresponding to socialistic-humanistic orientations.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRAINING WITH DECONTAMINATION FLUID DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDNSCHAU in German No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press  
20 Sep 83) pp 60-63

Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "Equipment Washing"

Text Old artillery pieces on concrete pads, a row of obsolete tanks, racks and tables for handguns--that's what we reporters see in the training area of a special treatment company. It is part of a chemical defense command. Today's program: "Decontamination of combat equipment, infantry weapons and personal equipment following a simulate enemy nuclear attack."

Zil-special vehicles drive up; soldiers dismount, drag 20 meter long hoses off the vehicle, hammer forked pegs into the ground on which they deposit scrub brushes; start the pump motor, adjust the pressure of the first squirting fluid.

First Lieutenant Ganser, the company commander, looks at his watch. "Okay," he says to us. "They are within the standard time. The two soldiers have only 6½ minutes in which to deploy their special equipment." Later on, he indicated, things would happen in a hurry also. For instance, they would have 20 minutes in which to decontaminate an artillery piece down to the permissible level of radioactivity, which would make it safe for further use. "On the battlefield we wouldn't be dealing with individual items as we are doing here. There we would have entire columns of tanks, whole artillery batteries, long lines of trucks. Our task: to make all that equipment ready for use again, to make it available for the defense of our country." "But certainly these two soldiers wouldn't be handling all that equipment?" "No," the first lieutenant confirms. "The artillery men, tank personnel, motorized infantrymen must wash their own equipment. Our comrades supervise them, organize the sequence of events, and of course lend a hand from time to time." The men of the special treatment company must constantly practice actions of this sort, must be constantly proficient in them so as to be able to spring into action immediately after an enemy attack with weapons of mass destruction. Isn't it true that U.S. politicians have stated that they consider a limited nuclear war of considerable duration in Europe a possibility? Didn't the British commander in the Falklands conflict have authority to use the nuclear weapons carried on shipbaord in case the fleet was threatened with destruction? Danger is everpresent and the soldiers of our chemical service are aware of their responsibilities. "The troops must be able to rely on us," a private says tersely. "And they can, too!"

The company commander points at a few soldiers. "Our reservists. Over 30 years old. Even though this is more difficult for them than for the younger ones, they are eager. They do their job." We are talking with Pvc Juergen Eichhorst from Magdeburg. He tells us that he did his basic training service as a border guard in Berlin. When he came here, he continues, he wasn't exactly overjoyed--chemistry isn't exactly his bag. He had difficulty in getting up to speed. But he never gave up and now he can do his tasks in standard time also. Despite his initial annoyance, he still wants to keep up. What, we ask him, gives him the greatest difficulty? "Messing around with the protective suit. Wha a sweat!"

We are watching two soldiers--the company commander calls them "decontaminators"--who have climbed up on a tank. With a brush screwed onto the waterhose, they carefully work on the gun barrel and the turret. A layman would say that they are scrubbing. We realize that these comrades are working according to a specific sequence. They always brush from the top downwards, from the front to the rear according to the wind direction. And they take care not to step on areas they have already cleaned and thereby contaminate them once again. Common sense is a requirement here too. This also applies to the decontamination fluid. The decontaminators must mix it in the proper proportion so that the radioactive particles can be thoroughly removed.

"Many of the troops refer to us as 'the carwash,'" says the company commander. We are amused by that. Buy anyone who thinks that we do the same sort of thing, is wrong. Not to mention the crazy splashing that goes on in a carwash--the way they waste water--we can't afford to do that." The decontamination fluid, he continues, is quantitatively calculated for every piece of equipment. A tank, for instance, takes 130 liters, a 152 mm howitzer 60 liters. These standard quantities are carefully allocated to the user units; the special vehicles are loaded and resupply planned accordingly. Should a soldier be careless and waste fluid, the last vehicles and artillery pieces in line would be left out, could not be decontaminated, and the combat units would fall below their operational strength. Here too, we must be aware of our responsibility in the overall picture.

First Lieutenant Ganser's company has this insight. Never yet has it experienced the kind of failure described above, not even in large, complex maneuvers. Just recently they decontaminated the entire equipment of a regiment within a few hours. In the future too the combat troops will be able to entrust their equipment to this company for special treatment without worry. We have seen its operational groundrules: speed, thoroughness, compliance with operational norms.

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CSO: 2300/172

POLAND

JARUZELSKI, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS SPEAK ON PARTY ISSUES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Oct 83 p 4

/Article by Piotr Rzadca: "The Nation's Problems; At the 13th Central Committee Plenum--Concerning the Party; What It Means To Lead" /

/Text/ "...the people should feel that the party is needed in practice; that it is close to them; that it is the most dependable force in the struggle against hardships and complaints, against stagnation and sluggishness, and against all forms of evil; that the party's program and the tasks it outlines have only the good of the nation as their goal." (From Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the 13th Plenum.)

We have already transmitted to our readers General W Jaruzelski's speech, extensive discussion and report made at the end of the deliberations as well as the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. In returning to this theme today--after 3 years of bitter political struggle and in a new social situation--we want to consider only the statements made by Central Committee members concerning the party itself, about its ideological condition, about the need for further improvements and about obligations of party members.

"If we were to compare the state of the party today with the situation over 1 or 2 years ago, for example, then we have reason to be satisfied," stated Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PCPR Central Audit Commission. "Positive changes are obvious in all spheres of party life. If, however, a point of reference for such evaluations must be made, then numerous shortcomings in our operation also are obvious..."

Ties to Society and Securing Trust

During the plenum discussion, much attention was devoted to the party's securing of the trust of society as one of the primary conditions for fulfilling the party's leading role in society. On what does this trust depend?

"In addition to a valid, progressive ideology, as a party we also have trump cards of a national and state nature," reminded Andrzej Styczynski, first secretary of the Eliterma KZ /Plant Committee/ in Swiebodzin.

"After all, it was we, the Polish left, who created this sovereign, nationalistically unified state within secure borders. As a party we created conditions for the social advancement of millions of compatriots. Under our leadership this country today has an economic potential that is by no means trivial and some of the most extensive social achievements in the world that are legally guaranteed. And last of all, we substantiated the August Agreements that the party is open to dialogue with society."

"That is the main resource of trust which, of course, is still not enough in the new social situation. That is why the party must continue to struggle for trust and for support for its program."

"In desiring to fulfill its role as leader and manager," said Wincenty Laszczak (an ironworker from Zamosc Province), "the party must make the implementation of social justice a special priority because it has a vital bearing on shaping society's consciousness." More precisely, the speaker said: "The socialist principle of social justice applies not only to the distribution of goods but also to how these goods are produced."

"Our party must tell the upright, hard-working people--and keep its word--that the time of inconsistency between the basic canons of Marxist-Leninist ideology and policies and the economy now belongs to the past," stated Jerzy Maniawski, KZ first secretary at the Tarnow Nitrogen Plants.

"We have said 'yes' to socialism and 'no' to distortion," Stanislaw Wronski, chief editor of NOWE DROGI, stated during the discussion. "Today it must be stated that the edge of worker dictatorship should be aimed against the avowed enemy. Obviously against the enemy, but also against distortion. Otherwise there will be no socialist renewal, a renewal of the party, the state or the economy. With such an understanding, the tasks are linked to the need to train a new type of party propagandist and agitator in the factory, in the rural areas, and in the schools and offices who not only would voice our ideas and the principles of socialism, but who would also organize resistance against the violations of these principles in factory practices, in rural life, and in the schools and offices. Once again I emphasize that he would organize resistance; otherwise the enemies of socialism will organize such resistance."

Leszek Kordowski, welder foreman from Suwalski Province, took up this thought in his speech. Among other things he said:

"At the last plenum we discussed how the party should operate after martial law was lifted. I believe that this question continues to be current. It is easy to give orders but more difficult to convince

people. Even more difficult is to induce people to want to behave in accordance with our directions, enriching these directions with their own initiatives. And today, above all, we face such a task. We must know how to listen,, to persuade patiently and--what is more important --to keep our word. This is our credibility."

"The most organized training will be of no avail if within our ranks we have incompetence, arrogance, insensitivity and that which is called the staging of political life. I am not convinced that all these weaknesses have been eliminated.

"For us workers, hard facts count. If a worker observes that his effort is wasted while appeals are made to him to turn off the lights and people walk about with nothing to do because some kind of item is lacking, then the appeal means nothing."

Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, expressed similar sentiments:

"When the party corroborates by its actions that it does not tolerate evil and misdeeds, that it will deal very harshly with these types of cases in its own ranks, then it strengthens its credibility in the eyes of society."

And one more voice: "We have many problems to resolve for the good of our nation and country. No one will do them for us," said Zbigniew Hanf (a miner from Katowice),"and in order to learn from the lessons of the past years, we must go forward further and aggressively."

#### The Significance of the Party's Internal Strength

Numerous speakers took up the problems of the party's internal life, its proper functioning, and its ability to influence society and mobilize it around the country's most important problems. The success of the changes that have been initiated will depend to a great extent on the party's internal strength, on its ideological consolidation, on its discipline and capacity to act, and thus on the bases of party members.

What conditions must be fulfilled for the party to be a well-knit political organization capable of fulfilling its duties to the country?

Andrzej Styczynski said: "My surroundings at work, at home and wherever I find myself must be made aware that I am deeply committed to my professed ideology and that I will defend it under all circumstances. Second, this means that all evil, degeneration, injustice and the whole gamut of social pathology must be counteracted actively. A third condition is that criticisms from a conservative position of all changes which have become part of party politics must be suppressed. Finally, the fourth condition is tigher control and enforcement over party members executing management functions so that their professional activities are performed as party members."

"The greatest, most dangerous ideological enemy of the party," stated Pawel Kaminski, a forest inspector from Pitrow Trybunalski Province, "is duplicity in our ranks. It is not true that the aims of socialism are compromised by adversities or even errors in building socialism because there is a risk of error in every activity and errors in themselves do not discredit the activity. The aims of socialism are compromised by those who bandy about the slogan 'for the common good' but who are concerned only with their own interests; who, in speaking about justice, also are biased authorities; and who, speaking about the dignity of the working man, actually hold him in contempt. We still have many such people in our ranks."

"In the party there is room for even the harshest debates and conversations," stated Jerzy Urbanski, "but they have their limits. If someone persistently voices views that are contrary to the party's ideological-political and organizational principles, to its programmatic policy, and if he acts against its resolutions, then he should be aware that party sanctions will be imposed against him in accordance with the statute. This is not a matter of freedom of discussion in the party, but it is a matter of ideological sameness and unity and of observing discipline based on democratic centralism."

"The post-August experiences," said Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG ZSMP /Main Administration of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth/ teach us that all compromises, all efforts to take the middle road and to veer to the right lead nowhere, and it is a delusion to think that an enemy of socialism will ever love the party. Every attempt to dilute the principles of Marxism for the sake of understanding is wrong."

Kazimierz Morawski also spoke on the need to improve intraparty operations:

"Sufficient efforts are still being made by the POP's /primary party organization/ to delineate tasks, but not enough time and attention is paid to realizing these tasks. In the past, too often party activities led only to announcing goals. It is now time to improve the methods for achieving these goals. In wanting to do good work in the state, our party itself must be continuously concerned about the exemplary performance and effectiveness of its own activities."

Eugeniusz Dobczynski, general high school principal in Pila Province, said: "The POP must be the center that should take the lead in the process of shaping consciousness based on the principles of socialist ideology. The themes and procedures of many meetings often still resemble those of production meetings. They lack ideological direction, which should be a trait of each party meeting."

Zdzislaw Stepień, chief specialist at the Naval Shipyard in Gdynia, expanded on this theme: "Party members in the POP's are requesting that party apparatus workers and representatives of the higher echelons not be guests at meetings but active participants at meetings in workplaces.

They want to limit the number of meetings with the higher ranking aktiws; they prefer more meetings with echelons at all levels in the POP's, but not only during crisis situations or ceremonial events or holidays."

Marian Otawa, ZW captain with the PZM /Polish steamship Company/ in Szczecin, stated: "Our party organizations, in the struggle for ideological principles, which must become legally and morally obligatory in Poland, must overcome finally its complex that it is encircled and isolated. It is our enemy who must be encircled. This requires all of us to be daring in all practical situations."

Once more we will quote Pawel Kaminski's reply: "I along with thousands of party activists working in the factories, in the field and in the forests, would like to be sure that the party's scientific auxiliaries, the party's scholars and intellectuals are strong and courageous, that they truly offer their knowledge and talents to the party, that they point out by name the errors in party practice that they see, regardless at which level the errors are found, and that their warnings will be listened to in all seriousness at all party levels.

At the conclusion of his speech, he said:

"The attitudes of the person who is a leader in his community and who engenders respect and trust, are the best method to propagate our ideology. We cannot go on any kind of ideological offensive if the party aktiv does not demonstrate that one can be a communist day in and day out in an unequivocal manner. And I believe that should be one of the primary resolutions of today's plenum."

The views and positions of the Central Committee members were reflected in the adopted resolutions, and thus they became obligatory guidelines for the entire party. Let us recall these statements.

"Strengthening the Marxist-Leninist ideological unity of the party is of greatest concern. We must be on guard against all phenomena that weaken the solidarity of the party's ranks, that hinder the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the Central Committee."

"In everyday work, all party echelons and top-level party organizations must take those political and ideological initiatives that serve truly to strengthen ties with the working class and all working people."

11899  
CSO: 2600/230

RESPONSES TO ZENON RUDNY ARTICLE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 43, 22 Oct 83 pp 4, 5

[Letters to the editor. For translation of the article by Zenon Rudny "Render Unto Caesar What Is Caesar's and Unto God What Is God's" see FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 189, 28 September 1983, pp G33-G37]

[Text] [Editor's note] Zenon Rudy's article (POLITYKA No 39) has aroused considerable interest among our readers. Many received it very emotionally, perhaps because the author raised, in an unconventional way, so sensitive a subject as the matters of religion and of relations between the nation and the church. The blindness of certain polemicists often impels them to ascribe to an author intentions which he did not have and which are not evident in the text. These excerpts from letters which we are publishing below are, among other things, an illustration of this tendency, and are also sociological data.

[Letter] I believe that the entire subtext of Z. Rudny's article would be more suitably entitled "All to Caesar, Nothing to God."

The author is in a panic of fear about the influence of the church, but the church, after all, is the only moral force in this nation, because from the beginning of the postwar years its financial aspects have not in the least degree burdened the national budget, and it relies exclusively on the believing portion of society for maintenance.

The author complains that the church does not occupy itself only with religious matters. If it were to do so then the church would exist only for itself and simultaneously its destructibility would become very easy, because social matters, in the author's opinion, are only "Caesarian." It cannot be thus, or it would mean that the nation had lost its history and memory.

Seeking the church's guilt in the fall of the Polish nation is merely sticking on further patches, since at the time of partition nobody other than the church bore the burden of the survival and maintenance of the people's spirit and history.

[Signed] Wladyslaw Sarnowski

Bydgoszcz

[Letter] The author tries to suggest that in our fatherland whatever sins the church has committed in the historical past are a taboo subject. Then, these transgressions are supposed to have led to the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian nation. A great deal of divergence exists regarding this subject.

Let us begin, then, with the elucidation of certain historical facts. Having already been initiated a hundred years before by the Hussites, the period of internal renewal of the Catholic Church began in 1517. From the base of Christian religion arose a number of non-Catholic creeds, as the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, Arians. Deliberating in 1543-63, the Council of Trent initiated a battle against dissenters. All of Western Europe burst into flame from pyres. At this time, as also in later years, thanks to the peaceful cooperation between partisans of the reformation and enlightened Catholic representatives, the republic became an area without pyres, without battles and without religious persecution. The climax was a region of freedom of religious creed, conscience and speech, as also of a religious tolerance wondered at by foreigners. The society of the Jagiellonian monarchy did not witness such actions as the Huguenot massacre in France. The next deed of spreading tolerance in Polish territories at the time of the reformation was the conclusion in 1569 of the Brzesko Union, which resulted in the church's winning over of the Russian schismatics.

Four years later the Warsaw Confederation was formed. It guaranteed an unconditional and perpetual peace between those of different faiths. Was this not the expression of a fair tolerance? But if it is a question of the Arians, well, it is a fact that by a parliamentary decree they were expelled from Poland as of 1663, and in 1673 the ennoblement of dissenters was forbidden.

But the republic continued to be a country of religious freedom. Even in the period of the black Saxon night approximately 150 temples were open for dissenters. They also had the right to publish religious writings for their own use.

[Signed] Arkadiusz Kowalik

P.S. If Poland is indeed a tolerant country, then I request that my article be published in the weekly POLITYKA without the control of censorship.

[Letter] The behavior of believers in nearly all places of pilgrimage confirms the thesis that the church in Poland has been unable, or has not been concerned, to stimulate an intellectual reflection among believers

upon the meaning of experiencing God, and thus of making faith a value which releases desired behavior compatible with the principles of Christianity and with the point of view of the interests of any society. In the appearances of priests or of higher-ranking spiritual leaders, it is not very often that one can encounter an appeal for a fitting relation to work, for respect for the beliefs of those practicing a religion other than Catholicism or for tolerance toward people with a different philosophy of life. In this context it must decidedly be a disturbing fact that certain schools retain religious emblems, among others, crosses. This does not happen, in all probability, at the church's instigation but is done by--among others-- people educated by the church, and the church should realize the obvious fact that independently of its official intentions, this is one of the signs that the principle of the secularity of public life is being violated.

If it is a matter of questions connected with the economical aspect of a person's activity, then it is truly difficult to suppose that the pope's encyclical "Laborem exercens" was a source of inspiration for influencing believers toward a correct shaping of the conception and value of human work.

To return concretely to John Paul II's visit. Undoubtedly for some believers it was a profound religious experience, but assuredly the reception of the pope's stay by the definitely greater part of the pilgrim crowd seemed different. The behavior of the believers going up Jasna Gora with banners and songs (not necessarily hymns) at the moment of the pope's clearly audible address did not indicate that the goal of this pilgrimage was the desire to hear the purport of His Holiness's speech. The shouts issuing from the crowd to the shopkeepers standing in front of their windows to the effect that "these Jewish hucksters' stands should be closed when the pope is speaking" inclined one to pessimistic reflections. The image of the pilgrim crowd and its religious experiences was completed, as it were, during the evening appeal on Jasna Gora, in which principally young people participated. Some of the youth assembled around the pope certainly took part in religious considerations but a little further off the areas near the monastery were reminiscent of a laughing bivuoac.

Such a reception of the pope's visit by part of the believing community cannot inspire optimism. The results of the visit will unquestionably be felt at a somewhat later date, and it is difficult to express oneself on this subject today, but certainly one can make attempts at an appraisal of the actual commitment and compass of the religious experiences of the believing part of our society. One should look at this phenomenon in the context of the main goals realized thus far by the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, among which matters relating to the true experiencing of God and to morality do not seem to be paramount.

[Signed] Dr Henryk Szczerbinski  
Warsaw

[Letter] Placing the blame on the church for the present state of morality in Poland is absurd. The conditions in which we live are not favorable for the development of morality. People are demoted to inferior positions for their moral attitudes. Such situations are very frequent and people realize it. This especially warps the characters of children. Such articles discourage the reading of publications in general as mendacious. Everyone can observe this in the newstands of "Ruch", where the periodicals are piled up.

[Signed] A regular reader

[Letter] Zenon Rudny writes, among other things: "One would like to believe that the episcopate, which has shown so much intelligence in the last difficult months, will start to shape a more 'intellectual' model of faith among believers."

Evaluating his concern about the church's bid for intelligence, I will allow myself, as a believing individual, although not affiliated with any creed, to present my point of view:

1. For aware believers, religion is not the same thing as the church. Religion is a form of an individual's consciousness. The church is an institution based on this consciousness and occasionally fulfilling the role of a parasite in the spreading of knowledge about Christ, for example, in times of increased religious intolerance, inquisitions, pyres, reluctance to translate the bible into national languages or to allow its study.
2. A person who is religiously aware is a person who loves his neighbor (even his enemy), and so is thereby tolerant even while exacting respect for his own convictions. If for Catholics a Pole is a Catholic, then for awarely believing Poles Catholicism is intolerance.
3. Aware believers are included by nominal Christianity in the group of "Christians without a church."
4. For aware believers the church is a spiritual category, since the believers themselves comprise it. The head of the spiritual church is always and exclusively Jesus Christ.

I believe that what the church can offer for the intelligence is the church's affair. Whether excluding oneself from the intellectual plane will be possible in the long run depends on intelligence itself, but especially on the intelligence which regards itself as awarely believing.

[Signed] Wanda Pratka

Poznan

[Letter] I am a Catholic, which does not in the least prevent me from entirely sharing your opinion regarding the nation and the church. I too do not see the sense in unloosing another "holy war" by a crowd of believers. Like every young person, I am by nature critical and rather untrusting. Hence I rarely identify with others' judgments on certain problems. Nevertheless, my letter is an expression of spontaneous joy after reading your article.

I would like to raise yet two other matters, quite essential ones in my opinion. First "holy confession" on the one hand and a sincere avowal of "errors and deviations" on the other would certainly verify views circulating in society about "dark periods" in the history of both sides. Second, a request for a modicum of tolerance. Different life philosophies need not lead to conflict. My grandmother got a secondary school certificate in religion, and was educated in deep faith by nuns in a teaching seminary. My parents are members of the party. And I am 19 years old and am now given a "loose rein."

[Signed] Wojciech Sopkiewicz

Gliwice

[Letter] According to Mr Rudny, the pope's visit did not effect essential changes in the Polish mentality because society's morality did not submit to improvement. Perhaps he is right, but that is not what I wish to discuss. I wish to call attention to one fact. The first visit of John Paul II led to the events on the coast of August 1980, and many journalists laid stress on the visit's social and political significance.

According to the author, the church has already lost control over the course of changes occurring in the contemporary world, and the weak impression made by the encyclical "Laborem exercens" can serve as an example. He forgets only one thing--an encyclical is not a summons to better work when there is no need for it to be. The pope did not write this document with the Poles in mind, although in it he discussed the relations predominant to the west of Elbe. Indeed, work, according to John Paul II, is a divine command and responsibility for society, but this fact requires the creation of suitable conditions for work. An individual will become an aware discharger of his responsibilities if he feels himself the owner of the place of occupation, but for this the realization of certain postulates by the employers (in our case, by the authority) is indispensable, as free unions, autonomy, the right to work and to strike, health protection, fair salaries and so on.

Mr Rudny claims that religion is every individual's private affair and is right again, only once more he has conveyed his evidence very unclearly. The slogan "The faith of our fathers is the faith of our children" does not at all contradict this thesis, only one must seek a completely different appeal for it--toward patriotism. Less and less is being said about the role of the Catholic religion in building the national consciousness of the Poles. Could this be an aware silence?

The author piles the responsibility for the origin of national faults on nobody other than the church. Well, I did not expect such conclusions in this article. I had read J. Topolski's "Polish History," J. Tazbir's "History of Poland," P. Jasienica's "The Republic of Both Nations" and somehow my mind did not arrive at such conclusions--in fact, the opposite. Pawel Jasienica blames nobody except the thoughtless and foolish authorities from the periods of the last Jagiello and of the Waz dynasty.

Rudny postulates that the relations between the nation and the church should accord with the following principle: the church will occupy itself exclusively with religious matters. In this way the church would not have the right to speak up on the questions essential to the vast majority of citizens. Now the very battle over an individual's worthiness (which has something in common with divine matters, not just human ones) such elements, indispensable for the majority as freedom of conscience, liberty in expressing one's views, the right to self-determination and to forming associations, social justice. As the history of the People's Poland teaches us for the present, not all of these postulates are realized in the systems of the comrades of socialist democracy; if they were, one would not write about the time of political thaws, about October 1956, March 1968, December 1970, June 1976 or August 1980.

[Signed] Robert Chudzik

Czestochowa

[Letter] The author mentions a number of virtues and qualities, and also values, which ought to constitute an integral part of the Christian model of life. Writing "ought" suggests that they do not yet do so. Well, they do and they fit into the model. The issue is that people have not yet attained the full and necessary realization of this model. And here surfaces the next problem raised by Z. Rudny: that of the tasks given priority by the Roman Catholic Church, whom apparently the matter of morality does not interest. An astonishing assertion! In its teachings the church as a rule treats morality in its totality and rarely divides it into the morality of labor, of marriage, of school and still some other kinds. It acts in such a way in its conviction that in the end there is a single morality and that which is immoral at home on Sunday is also immoral on Monday at work. The author goes yet further in saying that matters of morality are not a high priority for the church, as is, by contrast, its own power. In my lifetime, I have often observed the realization of various tasks by this institution. I have seen its administration, building, publishing activity, questioning, instruction, and education. All this was conducted on a high level--that is true. But I have never seen the church realize as its main goal its own material and political power as an institution. Moreover, the author does not explain his judgment in any way. Thus he writes as if morality were unnecessary to the building of this power. In truth, the church voices and acts upon the principle that any power whatsoever without morality is not a true power. Besides, somehow that which pertained

to universal well-being (in the moral sphere too) and became it, pervaded and supplied the church's business (even the author admits this). One of the church's tasks is to strengthen these accomplishments. What does its instruction (and the theme of its encyclicals) change in the people's lives? What influence does it have? The author considers such an influence non-existent. Judgments made in this way attest to an unreflective observation of life. I will allow myself to suggest another point of view. How many human existences currently remain safe thanks to the teaching of the church (also to the teachings flowing from the encyclical "Humane vitae")?

Christian morality is not just a matter of conforming, or not conforming, to the letter of the law. It is also a question of human motivations, of accepting humanity, of living through one's faults and hopes in the prescribed way. The church knows how to unite all these into a harmonious whole and worries over the fate of the people who turn to it. It knows that its mission is neither finished nor absolutely accomplished. It knows that it is needed, that something from it remains in everyone, but it does not debate whether believers are "more moral" and does not get intoxicated publicly over its immeasurable successes.

The church is as interested in the reflectiveness of faith as in its intellectuality. It suffices to trace the substance of its catechesis about the environment and state, its publications (if only "On the way"), its books, the publishing activity of "Znak," the writing of its priests (for example, fathers J. Pasierb, J. Tischner, J. Salig and others). It is just that often there are situations when it must reach people varying greatly in age, experience, education and mentality. And such attempts can fail to satisfy certain people intellectually. The church emphasizes that contact with material requisites is not the essence of religion or a testimony of faith.

Most believers know this. I consider that the church has largely succeeded in its work at harmonizing substance and form, symbols and meanings.

The ill-disposition of the church toward the party does not (as the author writes) result from loss of position. It suffices to follow the activity of the episcopate and of Cardinal S. Wyszynski to have no delusions about the reasons for this reserve.

Human welfare, understood as broadly as possible (including moral welfare), ought to be the common cause of those who wish to have an influence on people's behavior. There is no need for a "field of conflict."

[Signed] E. S.

Name and address known to editors

[Letter] This article offends the pope, the Pole and the church in Poland, it sneers at the religious feelings of Poles, it mocks religious ritual and the subjects of religious worship, and so on.

Do we live in a wild jungle? Does the author feel no obligation to the constitution of the PRL, which forbids such types of "action?"

What is more, the fairly aware reader has no difficulty discerning who hides behind the name "Rudny." That practice founded on "genuine" facts, carried into our public life, must arouse the opposition of every citizen with normal reactions. He who feels "called upon" for a public condemnation of a compatriot-pope and of the church in Poland should have the civil and political courage to speak under his own name.

[Signed] Zdzislawa Zywiens

Poznan

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TYPES OF POLITICAL PLURALISM ENUMERATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 124-134

[Article by Eugeniusz Zielinski: "Pluralism Under Polish Social Conditions"]

[Text] The problem of pluralism under Polish social conditions has excited and will always excite controversy. The statements of theoreticians and politicians that appear from time to time are an expression of this. Their positions are quite clearly defined. But developing a factual view of the reality and meaning of pluralism in the social life of our country for oneself is always a difficult matter. This paper is a certain attempt, although subjective, to treat the problem more as a whole. It does not pretend to illuminate completely this uncommonly complicated social phenomenon. It determinedly refers to the realia in Polish social reality. It has no pretensions to infallibility. It does not exhaust the problem. At the same time it creates a certain basis for deeper discussion.

The "Fad" for Pluralism

During the post-August period a fad for pluralism appeared in our country. This term was used in the political battle to discredit the political-structural principles of socialism. There was no concern here for propriety and precision in using this description. Neither was there concern about explaining the essence of pluralism, its possible forms and consequences in the life of a socialist country. At that time the book of Stanislaw Ehrlich on the theories and forms of pluralistic societies appeared<sup>1</sup>. While it did not excite great interest, it seemed to respond to the needs of the time. That period required re-evaluation of many ideas. But this did not happen. Pluralism assumed only a one-directional dimension. The PZPR, determined at that time to correct the mistakes made in the past, ascribed the greatest weight to developing a program of action in the future. It aimed to preserve the vital values of socialism. The political program adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress established the interpretation of the general party line. This line was an outgrowth of a critical evaluation of the past, took into account the new circumstances in which the working class protest took place and the actual possibilities for development of the country. It became the guideline for the political activity of the whole party; it outlined a vision of a model Polish society and Polish state. It included many pluralistic elements of the Polish People's Republic and it introduced new elements.

The PZPR political program met with negation on the part of the political opposition gathered around the new trade union Solidarity. This opposition presented its conception of society and the state under the title of "Self-Governing Republic."<sup>2</sup> Pluralism became the basis of this conception. All institutional and organizational propositions were linked to pluralism. Thus, independent and self-governing institutions were to be created "in all spheres of social life." Most of all, pluralism referred to political life. In this area a proposal was made to "present to society various political, economic, and social programs and to organize for the purpose of introducing these programs into life."

This form of pluralism does not have a counterpart in reality among contemporary societies and states and was close to that which Marx and Engels in an argument with Bakunin called anarchistic pluralism.<sup>3</sup> This concept had an expressly propagandistic character. Creators of these programmatic propositions counted on the popularity of the proclaimed theses and in winning followers in this way. They did not take into account the Polish reality formed after the war and were not concerned about social consequences in the future. Pluralism as a political slogan was to have fostered rejection of socialist values. In reality what was in question here was not overvaluing the Polish model of society and state formed in accordance with reality, but replacing it with an anarchist-totalitarian model, propagandized by native political opposition supported by bourgeois propaganda centers in the West.

In Polish scholarly journalism attention had been drawn a number of times to the appearance of manifestations of a peculiar pluralism in the Polish People's Republic. The post-August period is not the first time. Undoubtedly however, pluralism found an echo in society because of its content and the proclaimed variants. Authors discussing the social and political structure in postwar Polish society detected differential interests and social needs and forms of their representation and articulation, noting elements of pluralism. Stanislaw Ehrlich in his monograph presented pluralistic ideologies first of all, beginning with French pluralistic ideology, through the English, the Fabian, and the guild ideologies to the views of German pluralists and their effects on English thinkers, and then on American thinkers. The second part of the book, less historical and theoretical, discusses the relations between Marxism and pluralism and concerns itself with certain pluralistic threads taking part in the socialist reconstruction of society. In the book, on the basis of the example of Poland, Stanislaw Ehrlich presents the pluralistic elements in socialist transformations that occurred after World War II. The conclusion of the considerations led to a look at the problem as a whole, or to an answer to the rationality of pluralism. The views and assumptions presented on this matter indicate what a complex and multidimensional phenomenon is the pluralism that is making its appearance in the life of societies.

The basic conclusions lead to the introduction of sociopolitical ideas pointing to the plurality and variety of social life and their contrast to bureaucratic centralism and uniformism. The value of this uncommon discussion leads to the situation that "the author," as Jan Szczepanski writes in a review, "looks for real bases for the possibility of a pluralistic socialist

society and from these analyses of social reality reaches conclusions for constructing an ideological model.<sup>4</sup> Here, then, a very real methodological cue for finding pluralistic threads in a socialist society is formulated.

In his scholarly discussions, Jerzy J. Wiatr has dealt with the problem of pluralism several times. In a most penetrating way he presented the problem of pluralism in work, discussing problems of social development within a socialist structure.<sup>5</sup> In a socialist society, the thread of pluralism is associated with the question of "the strategy of optimal compromise." The appearance of social and political pluralism looks for the coming into being of two conditions. "The first condition is that the existing differences of interest would come out into the open in a legal manner, built into the sociopolitical system of socialism. The second condition is that the center of power would want to and would know how to lead to the optimal compromise solution for opposed interests."<sup>6</sup> Fulfilling these conditions would serve to resolve the nonantagonistic contradictions in socialist society. J.J. Wiatr clearly indicates that he uses the concept of pluralism in the sense of "pluralism on the basis of a socialist structure, with a preservation of the principle of the directing role of the communist party; in this sense it is basically contradictory to the concept of pluralism as the free play of rival political forces."<sup>7</sup>

The development of the conditions indicated above affects the functioning of the sociopolitical mechanism of a socialist state and the style of its politics. First of all, it makes it necessary to take into account social interests and needs and to create conditions that make it possible to take these into account in the activity of the state. This kind of situation also requires a suitable position for the communist party, the strongest political organization of the working masses. Specifically, as J.J. Wiatr writes, "in order that various points of view and various social interests might be taken into account in the decisions of the party." Perceiving this phenomenon is, to a great degree, a matter of the actual orientation of political leaders, their becoming aware of the consequences of a compromise resolution of problems and not permitting social conflicts to arise. The orientation of pluralism in this resolution can favor taking social reality into account and taking advantage of the recognized situation to reach a nonconflict resolution of contradictions in the whole process of governing.

Not long ago Jan Wawrzyniak returned to the problem of pluralism in a discussion in the columns of NOWE DROGI.<sup>8</sup> But he did so in a changed sociopolitical situation. The need for a new look at many factors of our social life has become indispensable in connection with the search for the new resolutions of the reforms introduced (socioeconomic and political-structural). We cannot speak of enterprises subject to reforms of specific basic elements of the socialist structure without evaluating the social phenomena that develop, or without making certain institutional-organizational proposals.

Making a statement on the matter of forming a true model of socialist democracy under structural and sociopolitical conditions in Poland, J. Wawrzyniak proposes to supplement it with elements of pluralism.<sup>9</sup> To a

certain degree he perceives elements of pluralism in Polish socialist society, although he does this timidly. This voice is an attempt at a more authentic look at Polish reality. Nonetheless it is a realistic approach to evaluating the social processes of the Polish People's Republic and finding new values of sociopolitical life.

The considerations of the author are concentrated around the need to perceive the various interests of social groups and their honest articulation, and the need to take these interests into account in the decisionmaking process of the administrative centers of the state.<sup>10</sup> For our socialist society realistically evaluates the transitional period from capitalism to socialism as being always highly diversified and expressing a variety of social interests and needs. The leading party, actually carrying out political and social administration in the state, must not only pledge to look for this complex variability, but must confront its existence and take it into account in everyday dealings. The Polish experience, the results of not respecting the realia of social and political life, are quite heavy and too costly. This indicates the necessity of drawing concrete conclusions for forming an authentic democratic structural infrastructure based on Marxist-Leninist principles. New views of the social and political structure formed in our society during the 1980's should be recognized as unusually useful and enriching knowledge that furnishes material for the undertaken reform of the structural organization and functioning of the Polish socialist state. Other evaluations and views of certain isolated affairs can be presented but this only enriches the panorama of perceived reality and broadens the proposed solutions.

The solutions that J. Wawrzyniak discussed were replicated by Tadeusz Wrebiak, also in the columns of NOWE DROGI.<sup>11</sup> Wrebiak cites the controversial nature of the enriching of Polish socialist democracy by pluralism. He bases his reservations on the danger of threatening the fundamental structural values of the political system of the Polish People's Republic. He is not concerned here with a fundamental treatment of the problem, but in handling it on its merits. Obviously it is not a matter of appearances, names, or free-thinking constructs. The matter is reduced to an honest evaluation of social processes and mechanisms of political life in our country.

T. Wrebiak expresses the view that "political pluralism, as a system of exercising authority and organizing political life, cannot get along without the rule of 'free play' of forces even when this leads to a different capitalistic socioeconomic base."<sup>12</sup> This view is unique and differs clearly from the conclusions of authors of papers dealing with pluralism or socialism, and looking for the possibilities of the development of pluralism. It seems that he expresses the mechanical approach to social and political events in the life of the society. If we were to accept this approach then we would also have to recognize such phenomena in Polish socialist democracy as socialist parliamentarism, a coalition form of government, a three-party political system, and others as being subject to the rules of the socio-political formation we have lived through. The system of forces in political life and in the structure of authority has changed radically since postwar Poland, and there is no possibility of recreating it in our actual conditions.

For this reason too, the rules of political play do not resemble the old rules, and there is no possibility of adapting bourgeois principles to the new conditions.

The conditions formed as a result of the revolutionary transformations require introducing such principles and mechanisms of state functioning as would fully guarantee the interests of all groups in society. Perceiving pluralism therefore does not create a danger to the structural values of socialism, but enriches sociopolitical life and enjoins us to construct such mechanisms as will serve the development of authentic socialist democracy in our country. Pluralism in Polish reality is a concrete social and political phenomenon, and not just a method used by the political opposition for destructive political maneuvers that sow anarchy and attempt to weaken socialist authority. Ultimately it strengthens the class character of political authority, making it sensitive to the interests of the working class and other groups of society.

An analysis of the reconstructed socialist society should provide material for formulating theoretical-ideological generalizations. Using schema and dogmatic formulas has already led to harm more than once in the realization of the ideas of socialism in Poland. We must benefit from past experience and reach practical conclusions for the political activity of the party and the people's rule.

#### The Forms of Pluralism

In scholarly journals several forms of pluralism are distinguished. It would be impossible even to mention all of them. And this is not of great significance. It might be worthwhile at least to indicate that pluralism is linked to a specific area of life, for example, social, political, cultural pluralism, to a sphere of convictions, for example, world view, ethical, ideological pluralism, to a form of presenting events, for example, normative, descriptive pluralism, or, for example, democratic pluralism, considering the character of social circumstances. All of these forms of pluralism are an expression of the richness of human thought and of the variety of outlook on the complex reality of the world surrounding us.

In our thinking with respect to Polish conditions, it will be most useful to pay attention to several forms of pluralism, specifically: world view, ideological, social, political and cultural pluralism. Each of these forms of pluralism has a limited content and sphere of action in social life.

World view pluralism is an undeniable fact in the life of contemporary Polish society, just as it is in many other societies. Many premises arising from social and political development contributed to its formation. Therefore there is no basis for statements on the single world view of Polish society, supposedly formed over the ages, that "a Pole is a Catholic." Religious and secular world views were present for a very long time. To the extent that civilization developed, the secular world view became ever more widespread. Sociostructural transformation in the Polish People's Republic affected social consciousness deeply. It might be said that the world view

of the religious became secularized to a large degree. The process of laicization of society is spreading. Material activity of people and their mutual relations resulting from the production process affect social positions. The religiosity demonstrated on various occasions is more the result of fashion rather than depth of attachment to ideas. Nonetheless we must take into account the longlasting effect of the religious world view.

In the life of a socialist state we cannot be reconciled to a view and action aimed at consolidating the religious world view. In this connection all attempts to undermine endeavors to laicize social life must be decidedly overcome. The attempt to monopolize influence on the formation of social consciousness by some of the clergy is contrary to the formation of a modern society developing on the basis of scientific knowledge and familiarity with social processes.

In our state, organizations and institutions with a socialist orientation cannot remain in the position of a passive observer of the processes of consciousness, but must take action and form a model of a society based on a secular world view.<sup>13</sup> Socialism is a structure built deliberately in all areas of life including the area of world view. It is true that changes in world view take place more freely than transformations in material and political conditions of the life of a society, but they cannot be left to spontaneous evolution. Consciousness of this must be present in planning the assignments of building socialism and spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and in undertaking activities aimed at their realization.

Ideological pluralism is an expression of a temporary state in the development of Polish society. Socialist ideology as a collection of views of the working class and other working social groups has not become universal. This is due to both economic conditions and to the as yet incomplete application of the socialist method of production. Factors from the past include the effect in the consciousness of certain social groups of remnants of bourgeois ideology. These ideas, despite the removal of economic bases, are coded in peoples minds and are revived on certain occasions. They do not find many supporters, but specific images have a certain social holding power. Real factors are the effects of bourgeois and social democratic ideas (carried through various channels from the West) on the positions and behavior of people who are not formed in the socialist ideology.

We must admit that repeated manifestations of crisis in the Polish People's Republic and mistakes made in directing the processes of socialist building also have bad effects on the scope of spreading socialist ideology as well as on limiting the effectiveness of ideas from the preceding socioeconomic formation. Finally, an unrefined and ineffectively generalized "decalogue" of Marxist values causes departures from socialist ideology. Also responsible is the ineffective creation of a homogeneous socialist education front from home through school and organizations and institutions with a socialist orientation. Despite the appearance of various opposing views, we must clearly indicate that socialist ideology, being scientifically based, is becoming dominant in a Polish society engaged in building socialism. This state of affairs is influenced by both objective socioeconomic circumstances

and by the realized class interests in the state and in society. A successful spreading of this ideology and eliminating residual outmoded views are imperative for the effective action of socialist forces. In this area we cannot count on automatic socioeconomic and consciousness transformations. Everywhere we must counter the promulgated myths of self-generated acquisition of socialist ideology by the workers.

As V. Lenin pointed out, in promulgating socialist ideology, it is a most important matter "that the promulgated ideas do not swerve from the forming social reality (words must agree with deeds)."<sup>14</sup> Based on this, an effective policy of the authority of the people that serves to realize the interests and needs of the social classes and working groups works on spreading the influence of socialist ideology. All manifestations of dissonance in this area lead to a diminution of its influence and effectiveness among workers.

The social pluralism that appears in Polish society is the result of the differentiation of the interests of specific classes and social groups. This differentiation forms a natural expression of dissimilarity of people's feelings and goals for meeting specific social needs. Sociostructural transformation, being achieved since the birth of the people's state, initiated the realization of the historic interest of the working class, the building of a classless society. It did not lead, however, to a waning of other social interests.

Our society presents a variety of interests. They appear in the form of temporary and long-term, social and political, and group and individual interests. These interests are mutually related in the most varied ways. Such relations may appear in various combinations, and concurrence and disparity of interests have decisive significance in the life of the society.

The most important problem is perceiving social interests, disclosing them, and taking them into account. This is no simple matter in social life. All ignoring of social interests leads to social conflicts. The Polish experience is most salient. Thus, perceiving the interests and reconciling them has structural significance in a socialist society.

Of its nature, the people's rule must express the basic interests of all class and social groups, to coordinate them, and to express them in state policy. Under the conditions of the present crisis in Poland, this is extraordinarily difficult. We must consider the interests of the basic working class and of other social groups. A rational socialist policy must consider the interests of all the people as well as the interests of specific classes and social groups.

The political administration of our country attaches great weight to taking into account the interests of workers. This was expressed by W. Jaruzelski, who at the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee said: "The party stands guard over the primacy of workers' interests with a simultaneous understanding of the needs of the allied peasant class and other sections and trade groups."<sup>15</sup> This statement indicates the need to respect a great number of interests that are part of our society and to take them into account in the

actions of a socialist state. What we need to do this are suitable mechanisms that would serve a systematic recognition and accurate articulation of the interests and needs of specific social groups. Neglecting this process of administration leads to the development of a conflict situation against a background of disrespect for the interests of society.

Connected with the problem of plurality of social interests and needs is the matter of their selection and the possibility of taking care of them. From experience we know that there is no possibility of completely satisfying popular aspirations. Matching interests and needs is possible only under conditions formulated by society and with means furnished by society. Forming such a consciousness is an extremely important matter. The post-August proposals of excessive increases in pay and free Saturdays without compensating for this by an added increase in productivity and work efficiency are the best example of this. It is necessary to inform society continuously of the fact that satisfying its needs and interests can be done only by earning the required means in the process of the production. Not understanding these social correlates creates a mood of frustration because of the nonfulfillment of the aspirations of modern society, rationally and reasonably organized by the mutual effort of fellow citizens of the state.

Political pluralism is a form of pluralism that evokes the greatest controversy. In connection with this, dissimilar opinions are expressed in the perception of this social development. In social studies, several authors try to ascertain its manifestations in Polish socialist democracy. At the same time, many theoreticians do not make their stand clear. There are doubtful statements of the type that "a system inspired by ideas of political pluralism is not only not useful, but may even be harmful to the structure of the Polish People's Republic."<sup>16</sup> Certainly unacceptable and without reason for existence in Polish reality is the concept of pluralism in the propagandistic, ideological version launched by anticomunist centers in the West and its adherents in our country. Similarly there can be no talk of the concept of political pluralism in the theoretical-ideological version that is launched by bourgeois, Western academicians, or any of the models that exist in bourgeois democracies.

In our country a unique political pluralism is forming, appropriate to the socioeconomic and political conditions, developed in the course of the revolutionary transformations of Polish society and the Polish state. Just as our state and democracy, our parliamentarism and party system express their own socialist content and a form appropriate to it and serve to realize those ideas, so political pluralism has the same character. And this is so because the elements which comprise it and the mechanisms that form it have a socialist content.

This pluralism has nothing in common with so-called political pluralism associated with bourgeois democracy, with a capitalist structure. At the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, W. Jaruzelski said: "Under our conditions, a pluralism understood in this way would have to mean opening the road to antisocialist forces that want to move the country back to outmoded forms and to long-resolved arguments."<sup>17</sup> It is not in order to open

the road to remnants of the old social structure that socialist and popular forces took over political authority and achieved political-structural transformations. Forming a new organizational and functional model of society and state, they created a system of organizations and institutions and a mechanism of their functioning that corresponds to the promulgated ideas. Unfortunately, this system is not always perfect, it is subject to changes for the purpose of a more effective service to Polish society. Actually the plurality of organizations and institutions growing out of the socialist social base and indispensable to meeting the needs of the people leads to the appearance of political pluralism.

It seems that whether to introduce pluralism into the political systems of our society or not should not be a problem. The crux of the matter is: to what extent does this organizational-functional pluralism represent authentic, varied social interests and needs, articulate them and direct them to the political and state center of decisions, and to what extent do these centers treat the interests and needs seriously, that is, review them and take them into account, and when this is impossible, make ample information available as to the reasons for the impossibility? In the functional-organizational sphere, it is a question of the organization and activity of various organizations and institutions of the political structure of Polish society on the basis--as V. Lenin stressed many times--of authentic democratic centralism, and not bureaucratic centralism. All deficiencies or gaps in the functioning of the organizations and institutions in our society that become apparent in situations of conflict and crisis had their roots in bureaucratic-centralistic outgrowths.

In our country we need a complete application of principles of democratic centralism so that both of its elements, democracy and centralism, might operate, that is, an expression and transmission of interests, and taking them into account in a spirit of compromise in the socioeconomic and budget plans adopted by representative organs of authority, and their effective fulfillment by everyone responsible for the realization of the decisions made and the laws adopted. Democratic pluralism of interests in a socialist society, as Yugoslav theoreticians stress, is not just a complex of needs and aspirations of specific individuals and collectives, but also individual and collective bearing of responsibility for conveying them, converting them into decisions and realizing them in daily practice in the workplace and in the life of the people and in the activity of society.<sup>18</sup>

It might have been well to go along with this idea and accept the conclusions that would contribute to becoming involved in postulative-consultative activities as well as in active constructive-realizing participation throughout the whole organizational-institutional system. Understood in this way, political pluralism does not remind us in any way of the "free play of forces" of propaganda, and is suitable in this guise for a socialist society. It is not in disagreement with the dictatorship of the proletariat, understood as the leadership of the working masses, and the leading role of the workers' party as the organizer of the process of building the socialist structure.

What should cause us trepidation is not the number of channels for communicating views and opinions of workers and those of the people's rule to the masses, framed in the political structure of socialism, but the lack and functional blocking of these channels. The Polish experience is evidence that this blocking leads to diminishing the role of the masses in our country and deformation of the building of socialism. In order to insure the proper functioning of a socialist state, it is necessary to be concerned first of all about the constant authentic activity of the organizations, institutions, self-government, and other democratic forms that represent the interests of workers and the maximum involvement in the everyday process of governing. Organizational-institutional plurality fosters the realization of the idea of democracy, although it does not insure against the dangers of bureaucratic centralism. Democratic mechanisms in organizations, institutions, and self-governing bodies create a real opportunity to protect against encroachments of degeneration in the building of the structure of social equity.

Cultural pluralism is the result of the presence in Polish society of various currents of ideas and world views. This variability of different cultural directions yields positive results when there is a climate of tolerance and mutual respect. This is borne out by the basic documents and materials of the Ninth Extraordirny PZPR Congress of 14-20 July 1981. This variability introduces lasting values into the national culture. Dissimilarity of cultural creations results from the dissimilarity of the method of seeing reality and evaluating it. The ideational and worldview posture of creative people affects what they create.

The treasury of national culture is comprised of the whole progressive cultural achievement. This achievement links the continuum and variableness of the culture.

B. Suchodolski wrote: "The history of culture, understood as the annals of national consciousness--let us remember once again the words of Mochnacki--'is evidence of how a nation in its being understood itself.' It indicates transformations of this consciousness in situations and tasks imposed by the historical fate of a nation living here, in this native land between the Vistula and the Oder, between the Bug and the Nysa in Luzycki, in social battles for equality and justice, for a state that should be the republic of all its citizens; in efforts of thinkers and artists serving to understand the world and shape its beauty, supplying the means to express human experiences of various kinds and promoting understanding between peoples; it indicates those transformations in the growing attainment of social participation in culture and social responsibility for the fate of the state; it indicates them finally in the links between Poland and the world, in its role for other nations, which Adam Mickiewicz described so perceptively when he wrote that nations grow only when and to the extent that they have the right to live, to the extent that they serve the whole human race by supporting or defending some great thought or deep feeling.

"The history of culture understood in this way shows the whole richness of experiences and reflections that comprise the national consciousness through the ages; it indicates the contribution that successive epochs of our history

made to this consciousness. For this nation, remaining always the same nation, was never in any epoch of history the same. For this reason in this never-ending dialogue of living generations with generations that have gone before are built both the understanding of national identity, and at the same time its involvement in the great modern change."<sup>19</sup>

The political government of the country stands at a juncture of all currents that value "the understanding of national identity" and exhibit "involvement in the great modern change." In cultural policy one would speak for respect of variability and the multibranched and multicolored content and form in contemporary creativity. The limit of support is the criterion of truth, humanism, progress, and internationalism.

The development of Polish national culture is closely linked to the life of the people and its organization of a socialist state. Only the activity of a social-state patronage of arts and literature in supporting self-governing centers as partners of this patronage and the involvement of cultural-creative centers can be a pledge of a contribution to the cultural achievement of a society. In this activity the development of creative discussions and the seeking of content and form, the understanding and respect for specific cultural creativity must be dictated by civic obligation.

All tendencies of cultural centers leading to disturbing the stability of constitutional principles of the sociopolitical system of the country remain in contradiction to the democratic national tradition of cooperation with the organization that personifies the vital interests and needs of the people. Certain small groups of people from cultural-creative centers, taking the road of political opposition and abusing the principles of plurality of ideational and world view trends of cultural creativity, harm Polish culture and lead it astray politically. The progressive stabilization of socio-political life in our country also encompasses--although slowly--the cultural-creative centers. These centers then can only make a self-evaluation and reevaluate their attitudes with respect to their role and place in the renewal of the life of the nation and the state.

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13TH PLENUM SUPPORTS CREATION OF NEW ACADEMIC INSTITUTION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Tomasz Miecik: "Intellectual Effort Necessary"]

[Text] The growth of our socialist society and state requires constant, honest and broad scientific analysis of all areas of our social life. The progress of Marxism and the application of Marxist theory to social phenomena is one of the basic conditions of following the right party policy and avoiding mistakes and distortions.

These two thoughts are present in all the decisions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. They are to be found in the lectures of the Politburo, in the discussions as well as in the resolutions. They might also become the point of departure for a discussion about the condition of research in the area of social sciences--the total body of disciplines dealing with the human individual as well as communities and their production.

It is true that in the Polish People's Republic the social sciences have reached a plateau never achieved before. The number of research institutions and academic personnel have multiplied. The cadre of humanists employed in higher education in the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] departmental institutes and scientific associations comprises now over 16,000 members, i.e., more than the total number of all scientists active before the war.

But the development of social and humanist sciences has been rather haphazard, a fact which was recognized even by the association of scientists, among others, in their "Report on the Condition of Science in Poland."

In this situation the forecast contained in the decision of the 13th Plenum takes on a special importance and timeliness. It promises to work out a complex program which will apply a plan of scientific research to the most pressing needs of the political, economic and cultural development of the country.

The deficiencies in education of the cadres are parallel to the, in great measure, irregular growth of social and humanist sciences. One quarter of all the doctoral degrees issued in our country are degrees in social sciences. Therefore the party, the society, has the right to expect that the quality in

this case will equal the quantity, that the subject matter of those doctoral dissertations will have to do with the building of socialism, and with some ideological problems facing the party. The fact that the average age of the members of the Department of Social Sciences of PAN is 67 years makes one wonder about the method of educating and promoting academicians in those disciplines.

Therefore it is understood that at the 13th Plenum the problem of a long-term program for the cadre policy in social studies was recognized as one of the most pressing. It has been stressed that it should cover the complete process of educating, and perfecting the academic cadres.

This cadre policy must also assume that the authority of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences and their representatives can be built and enhanced only through an inquisitive, creative, and honest intellectual effort and attitude. Only then will they be able to influence their environment, attract progressively thinking scholars and captivate by their influence a new generation of academicians.

Creating such research-cadres for social studies and strengthening the academic support system of the party will be encouraged through organizational innovations. The idea of creating an Academy of Social Sciences within the framework of the Central Committee of the party, an institution which will serve the integration of research and education in this field, found strong support at the 13th Plenum. At the last meeting of the Politburo it was concluded that while outlining that institution's ideological profile having to do with scientific research, education and organizational structure, the experience of many years should be utilized and the past weaknesses should be effectively eliminated. At the same time the functions of those supports should be adjusted to the actual, specific demands and foreseen needs as well as the ideological-political activity of the PZPR. The Academy of Social Sciences should start its activities at the beginning of 1984.

At the 13th Plenum it was also concluded that it will be useful to hold a general conference of Polish social sciences where their present state should be examined and plans made for the direction of future research for the 1980's. This kind of meeting and especially preparations for it should be made with utmost care.

"The building of socialism calls for an intellectual effort in recognizing social reality and working out some reasonable ways of its transformation," said Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 13th Plenum. "This is a great assignment for the social sciences--I shall say more: this is a campaign, a call to action from the party to its theoretical support system."

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MINISTER OF CULTURE DESCRIBES CULTURAL POLICY GOALS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 28-30 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Professor Kazimierz Zygułski, Minister of Culture and Art, by Zofia Zdrojkowska: "A Sense of Realism and Proportion"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Zygułski, we cannot protect culture from the effects of the crisis since its development depends on the economy. A sense of realism bids us today to plan a program of minimums. Which areas of cultural life will suffer most because of the economy program? What will we have to give up or severely limit? What will be given preference?

[Answer] The economic situation of the country and the need for an anti-inflation, economy program place decided limits on our cultural aspirations. A sense of realism dictates a critical review of many plans, and many projects and aims, although they are not without merit. The limitations will be most obvious in the area of investments, particularly those that many centers have been requesting for a long time; we will, therefore, not build new theaters, opera houses, large libraries, buildings for education in arts and museology, etc.

[Question] But the conditions under which some cultural facilities operate are truly alarming; culture has suffered from inadequate financing for so many years.

[Answer] Undoubtedly, the needs of culture are great, but in the last 10 years the base has undergone--and is undergoing--decapitalization. What if we have estimates, plans, and in many cases even land on which construction is going on; unfortunately, initiating large investments in culture is impossible at this time, when even in commerce much is frozen, including some things for which we had great hope a few years ago. We must have the courage to talk about this and explain why.

[Question] Import, an important factor in the development of culture, will probably also be limited since we know that hard currency is needed for it.

[Answer] No doubt we will not be able to afford importing significant quantities of musical instruments, tape, cinematography or phonograph apparatus, books, films, records. This does not mean that import will be

completely abandoned. Last year, for example, we allotted relatively large dollar amounts, considering our capabilities, just for obtaining necessary instruments, or their renovation, for the philharmonic and for the music schools. We are buying the materials necessary for various kinds of creative activity, we import films, of which the best evidence are the confrontations, but in comparison with the situation in the 1970's, and especially in comparison with our present aspirations and needs, we will feel definite limits. Once again let me say: a sense of realism dictates accepting this peacefully; we should exploit the modest wallet that we have in the most judicious manner, rather than complain that it is not full enough.

[Question] Since we are discussing cultural matters from the standpoint of economics, please tell us, Mr Zygulski, about the phenomenon of commercialization that the economic reform may foster. Is it a threat, or not? What kind of preventive steps will be taken?

[Answer] I believe that in this matter, in addition to a sense of realism, we must have a sense of proportion. There is no doubt that a certain amount and certain kinds of cultural goods and services should be a source of income, should be organized on the principles of profit, such as recreational shows, which no one in the world with common sense would subsidize, and certain types of publications. The purchase, for instance, of a beautiful color album of paintings is not a primary cultural need. Culture will not be wholly a benefit distributed free of charge. But I believe that the threat of commercialization of culture in our country is not great.

[Question] On which premises do you base this conviction?

[Answer] Most of all on the fact that the course of the reform is watched and controlled by people involved with culture, by the Ministry of Culture and Art, by other central departments and their regional offices, and by community and trade groups working in culture.

[Question] What kind of mechanisms for limiting the development of commercialization can we talk about in the present situation?

[Answer] About the role of patronage of the arts and literature, both state and community, that was recently reinforced by the Fund for Cultural Development. Owing to it, there will be the possibility of additional financing, subsidies or total basic financing for cultural enterprises, independent of their commercial prospects. I am not speaking here of maintaining a base of free-of-charge essential cultural amenities such as access to libraries, houses of culture, etc.

I would like to say here that our reforms, orders, laws and policy trends cannot be judged only from the point of view of today's economic difficulties. Many of these resolutions are long-term resolutions introduced with thought for the future; we believe that after overcoming the present crisis, or at least its worst fears, the means that Poles as a nation will be able to dedicate to culture will increase gradually, but significantly, and that what today seems unattainable will become attainable.

[Question] Mr Zygulski, within the framework of broad discussions on the subject of renewal and rebirth of life in Poland that have taken place during the last 3 years and continue to take place, the matter of its democratization has been broached. This pertains also to culture. The slogan of democratization of culture has actually become a catchword for its difficult crisis period that is meant to mark out the organization and direction of development of cultural life. To what extent is this reflected in the cultural policy?

[Answer] The principle of democratization of culture is at present ever more widely realized in practice through the growth of representative community bodies. It is enough to recall the unprecedented meeting of the Council of Ministers devoted to problems of culture in which the Presidium of the National Council of Culture and representatives of the new unions of artists participated. But the democratization of culture depends not only on increased participation of consultative and advisory bodies, but most of all on almost universal participation in it, on ensuring all groups and social centers access to the most various cultural amenities because such access is not yet very widespread in Poland. It also depends--and this is the third aspect of the matter--on taking into account broad public opinion, and paying attention to its evaluation of specific works, phenomena, events, and cultural activity. Monopoly of criticism and opinion, even in the hands of the best experts, is no manifestation of democracy in culture. It sometimes happens that some work, for instance a film, is highly praised by professional critics, but meets with complete indifference on the part of the public. We cannot overlook this fact, pass over it in our daily routine without reaching some conclusions. Opinions on the activity in cultural life expressed by various media and community groups must always be taken into account.

[Question] Mr Zygulski, you are speaking of the role of social factors. But to what extent will public opinion on the resolution of cultural matters be respected by state agents, since this opinion has no binding force?

[Answer] Community bodies have a consultative character, which is part of the more general phenomenon that is called social consultation. These consultations are obligatory, but not binding. Why? Because consultative-program councils of workers' collectives or of other consultative groups do not have legal responsibility for decisions, therefore their role must be--the legislation clearly stresses this--only an advisory role, and not a decision-making, constitutive role. Otherwise a process of anarchization of life would result, which means that it would disintegrate into hundreds of small organisms making decisions.

[Question] But there may be situations where among all the measures, valid postulates, propositions, and solutions proposed by a social agent will not be considered and realized.

[Answer] Using the example of investments, which we mentioned earlier, we can point to the occasional discord between valid postulates and the possibility of their realization.

I don't think that people sitting on advisory-consultative collectives have no sense of realism.

But I will say that a sense of realism in community bodies, as historical, and especially recent experience teaches us, is not always enough. This does not in any way diminish the role of such bodies, but it obliges people responsible for decisions to base them firmly. All observations and opinions should be heard and given consideration, and if they cannot be accommodated, we must--and we try--to explain why in detail.

[Question] Mr Zygulski, you said that community bodies do not have legal responsibility for decisions, and therefore they have a purely advisory-consultative character. In this case, having in mind the welfare of culture, who do we hold responsible for its fate, for achievements or neglect, for lost opportunities? What is the role of the minister of culture and art?

[Answer] There are various spheres of responsibility for culture. The legislative effort of recent years defines them precisely. There is responsibility for money that is spent on culture, for the cultural policy line, for activity of institutions, for accessibility to cultural amenities, etc. Does the responsibility of the government exhaust responsibility for the development and fate of culture? Obviously not. Some cultural spheres are closely connected with social activity, with artistic activity for which artistic centers are responsible. As minister of culture and art, I can speak rather of co-responsibility and it is possible to define this co-responsibility more precisely. What we are concerned with is avoiding sterile arguments and misunderstandings. The state patronage of the arts and literature is not alone since the state cannot and will not bear responsibility for all cultural activity in Poland. This would be contrary to the idea of self-rule. If some self-governing cultural institution performs badly, this is not the responsibility of the state, but of those who use this self-government poorly.

[Question] And what is the state responsible for?

[Answer] If it is a central or state institution or facility, for example, the opera or mass media, that operates badly, exhibits faults or mistakes of one kind or another, the responsibility rests with the departments, the institutions which these institutions or program departments formulate. Polish culture in its present form is a phenomenon that is extremely varied; basically it has many patrons, and for this reason it has a more clear limiting of responsibility than before, particularly that of the state; this helps a great deal in dispelling various fears, most of all those that the state is moving toward complete bureaucratization, nationalization of every social activity in the cultural sphere.

[Question] In which direction is the cultural policy of the government moving?

[Answer] The policy of the government is to create a framework for authentic social activity, self-governing, amateur; it wants to encourage a social movement striving for forms proper to it, for seeking patrons, and therefore such activity as is limited only by the law universally binding in Poland, and not be special directives. In this respect, the solution in the proposed bills on disseminating culture that are to be introduced in the Sejm very

soon is quite characteristic. This plan envisions that many bodies in Poland, beginning with the state and ending with commercial companies or even individual persons, will be able to initiate cultural institutions. The same right is therefore envisioned for the many bodies responsible for culture. This is a new thing in a sense, and in any case it breaks through the worn out and repeated plans, and this I would like to emphasize.

[Question] Is enough attention paid in the cultural policy to the fact of multi-worldview and multi-source aspects of Polish culture?

[Answer] I think that this fact finds complete affirmation in the development of sociocultural life. There are a few great sources of inspiration for Polish culture and each of them has a full right to be manifested. This may be based on the example from belles-lettres, which certainly reflects various attitudes, views, and motives. In plans for publishing, consideration is certainly given to, and readers have access to works derived from religious trends, primarily Catholic, from socialist thought acting on Polish society for at least the last 100 years, and from various philosophical doctrines. I need not add that the same applies to the fine arts. At exhibits one can find works derived either from national, social, or religious inspiration. I believe that the multi-worldview and multi-source aspect of culture is realized in everyday life, and not--as the question perhaps suggests--contained only in declarations.

[Question] But isn't there a danger here of preferring a certain type of creativity, awarding prizes to works inspired by a certain ideology, development of certain artistic orientations at the expense of others?

[Answer] It is obvious that every patron prefers that which he knows. It is not surprising that the People's Publishing Cooperative, for example, favors the popular trend, and Catholic publishers--Catholic writers. I believe that such preferences are a natural matter. If we consider that there are many patrons of the arts and literature in Poland and the open, broad policy that, in the case of culture, especially artistic culture, takes into account the variety of creative exploration, then the danger that you mention is small, but I agree that we must also counteract it.

[Question] Mr Zygulski, to a certain degree the principle of polycentrism is connected with the democratization of culture. How will it be realized?

[Answer] I would like to explain at once the polycentralization of cultural life depends not on a mechanical assignment of roles, but on empowering those who truly represent a high level, display inventiveness, initiative, and access to a countrywide market. Were it otherwise, we would again have a chain reaction of commands, largely a facade, and, of course, we don't want that. By introducing the principle of polycentrism, we want to reflect everything of value that is actually happening in the country, and not assign every province, every large city or region a certain number of hours of radio-television programs, a certain amount of paper, publishing positions, etc. That would be, I repeat, a caricaturization of this idea.

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Trade Union Activities in Bialystok

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "To See Not Just Personal Interest"]

[Text] The last time I was in the Bialystok Pasmanta Works several months ago, a founding group was just organizing a new trade union. This was going slowly in an atmosphere of almost universal indifference, reluctance and waiting, so much so that the founders were of the opinion that I should postpone writing on the subject. They said, "Why should facts be augmented and conviction forced. When we start to act, then our beginnings will certainly find wider approbation."

"And this is what happened," say Eng Grzegorz Klepacki, the head of the plant administration. "Slowly people began to come to us, and still come to us today. At first 30 persons applied for union membership, now we have almost 200 members. It is true that among us there are 70 pensioners, but even so the union includes 30 percent of all the workers. And there will be more of us, since not a week passes without several persons applying for union membership."

Grzegorz Klepacki had no previous union experience. Despite this and membership in the former Solidarity, the majority of the voters supported his candidacy for the presidency. His views (I will not throw a strike into the pot) and his sensitivity to human affairs were known. He states, "Representing the interests of the workers, I unite them with the interests of the plants, the common good."

The first steps are always the most difficult. But they must be taken. In the first phase of activity, the money of former unions was accepted and by decision of the administration and a meeting of members, allotted it for statutory benefits. A total of 160,000 zlotys was spent in grants of 1,500 to 4,000 zlotys, regardless of whether the applicant was a union member or not. Be decision of the meeting, 40,000 zlotys (collected by Solidarity) was allotted to the maternal health center.

This financial and other help (distribution of refrigerators, washing machines, sofas, etc., streamlining service in the snack bar, providing potatoes and vegetables jointly with the social service department) began to attract increasing numbers of women workers in the plants to trade unions.

The president wonders, "Should our activity be based on benefits that, truth to tell, sometimes result in misunderstandings? Should we only give, and demand nothing? This, unfortunately, is the way many people see social justice. Should we, for instance, defend a woman worker who wants Monday off because she is entitled to a day with her children, but we know that she is going to a friend's wedding? Should we agree to really low pay for administrative workers because some production workers would want this? Should we stop subsidizing workers' dinners at a nearby restaurant because those who do not benefit from this think we should?"

"After a period such as we have lived through, work in trade unions is not easy. We are faced with demands, harmful gossip, as for example, the case of the woman worker whose house burned. Some workers accused us of not wanting to help her because we did not give her money. Meanwhile the union decided to help, but in such a way that the woman would buy the needed things with the help of an administration representative. Why? Because she was an alcoholic. Besides, she quit work 2 weeks later.

"So situations that are difficult and sometimes even grievous arise. In the union we have real activists, but they burn out quickly; too quickly they accept the advice of one side without seeing the reasons on the other side. But I think that in time the situation will settle down and it will be easier to work."

The matters of which the President Klepacki speaks are also evident in many other plants. Undoubtedly the role of trade unions is its own kind of problem when there are collisions between cooperation with the plant administration and self-rule.

"We have not had major misunderstandings," said the engineer.

"We're united by the common interests of the plants and their workers. Therefore we must produce more, better, and more economically, and thereby earn more. I emphasize the matter of wages because there is some deficiency in the assumptions of the reform. We did not have an even start with other plants: The ditch got deeper after last year's good results when, as a result of a shortage of latex rubber, we produced nonelastic goods. The output doubled, but this year, after we went back to the labor-intensive production of elastic goods, we fell behind.

"Yes, sometimes there are disagreements, particularly because competency is not differentiated. For this reason, we are now providing training in this area. But I believe that in moving toward improving working and living conditions for the workers, we must take production processes into account. So I would like to emphasize the help of the party organization. I am a party member and as a union president, I am invited to meetings of the Executive Board of the Plant Committee."

Taking advantage of the meeting, I also asked Director Franciszek Pajda and Wlodzimierz Kowalik, a master and president of the workers council, about the place of the union in the plants. They both agreed that close cooperation does not always happen yet. Disagreements arise because of conflict between group interests and the common good. I am told that for some time now the plants have been putting into practice the agreement reached with the workers about producing an additional 11 million meters of goods. In exchange, the Pasmanta Works will be relieved of paying 5.1 million zlotys to the Vocational Activization Fund; this will make it possible to pay the workers in the form of monthly bonuses of 1,500 zlotys. President Kowalik said, "This is obligatory. As a worker, I also want to have an increasing participation in the profit, but as president of the council, I see the need to direct adequate sums to updating the machinery inventory and other purposes connected with the activity of the enterprises."

#### Unionists Discuss Activities Concretely

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by (zka): "Unionists Want to Speak Concretely"]

[Text] More than 300 union members from Wroclaw and Wroclaw Province met yesterday in Wroclaw. Consideration was given to the subjects to be broached at the meeting of union activists with representatives of the political-administrative departments of the central and provincial governments announced for 2 November 1983. Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Minister Stanislaw Gieseck and Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the social-trade department, were invited to Wroclaw.

The union members want this meeting to be concrete, to go forward expeditiously. They are concerned that it should not be--as has often happened--a peculiar concert of wishes in which important subjects are lost under the flow of petty matters pertaining to a single plant.

After discussion, it was resolved that the proposals brought up by those at the meeting should be divided into groups according to subject matter. These will be matters concerning working conditions and industrial safety and hygiene, local transport and commuting, cooperation of trade unions with workers self-rule, and promised, but improperly conducted consultations with union members on specific central decisions. The government representatives that come will also be told how the union members view social conditions in the province and what the situation of trade unions is in the province.

From the group meeting yesterday in a building on Mazowiecka St, members were selected to make specific presentations. To get the widest view of specific matters, they will listen to recommendations of union members from other enterprises.

During yesterday's meeting, reports were heard on the activity thus far of the Provisional Trade Union Coordinating Council.

## Unions Accomplish More Together

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Danuta Kosciuszko: "Together We Will Accomplish Much More"]

[Text] "We do not want to be aggressive, we do not intend to agitate; let people themselves find out what we are doing for the workers, and then they will join the union."

This declaration was made by President Zdzislaw Los, and other activists second it. Modesty is a great virtue, but hiding achievement is not right. It seems that union members are aware of this since I have before me a poster with this message: "During the half-year of activity of the Independent Trade Union of Workers of the Warsaw Steel Works, the following was accomplished, among other things: high subsidies for monthly commuter tickets from the Warsaw suburbs; halting the carrying out of a disadvantageous decision in the matter of coal allowances; a sanatorium for steel workers' children, low-cost vacations, summer camps, and camping; increase in number of jobs eligible for additional health leaves; more than 100 various problems of individual workers settled." Below in red print: "This is your business! Help us, we will then work faster and more effectively--together we will accomplish much more!"

That is true. The larger the union, the more credible will be its right to discussions with the plant administration and the stronger will its "penetrative force" be. For it acts on a statutory basis for all the workers, but when it has few members, its arguments carry less weight, and almost anything can counter them easily. For this reason most unions try to attract new members and propagandize achievements. It is not strange that the union at the Warsaw Steel Works should be doing this too. What are the results?

In the steel works in the capital, little more than 10 percent of the workers are in the union. This is modest, especially when compared with unions in other steel works that belong to the federation of steel workers unions established this summer. Almost 70 percent of the workers in Zawiercie Steel Works belong to the union; in Nowotki Steel Works in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, more than 50 percent; in Dzierzynski Steel Works in Dabrowa Gornicza, more than 40 percent. True, there are plants in this industry that have less participation in the union, but one is tempted to ask, why are the Warsaw steel workers not joining the union?

President Los thinks that people are negatively disposed toward the new union and this creates a certain attitude among some of the workers. Most have a passive attitude and are waiting for the union "to prove itself" in acting on behalf of its members. "But we do not want to act on the basis of enticement with a carrot: if you join, you will have this and this..." Besides, the old union in the industry was ossified and top-heavy, and its "sins" are automatically ascribed to the new union. Old achievements that benefited the workers are ascribed to Solidarity. Then there is the opinion that the new unions are controlled from the top. This is the opinion of the president concerning the feelings of the workers.

An older man asked about the union, said: "You have their poster in your hands, read it from the top..." I read it. Above the information cited above as to what the union accomplished, printed in red in the border was this barb: "Do you have a brain? Think, do not yield to demagogues!" "If someone asks me if I have a brain, I have nothing to say to him," the man said as he left.

In the iron foundry, the oldest section of the steel works, union members can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Conversation is difficult at first: Is talking worth it? Later it develops that it is. The following workers spoke of why they did not join the union: Edward Jaczewski, blacksmith, (14 years in the steel works); Wieslaw Szczesniak, overhead crane operator (8 years); Zygmunt Kulakowski, form caster (6 years); Marek Gorczynski, smelter (3 years). Joining the conversation were union members: Andrzej Olownia, subforeman (23 years) and Eugeniusz Owczarski, moulder (22 years).

It is not very pleasant to listen to the complaints about the new union. Even its members do not have a very high opinion of union activity.

In the first place, there seems to be no action in matters basic to the section, such as dirt in the workshop, noise, condition of work equipment. These things could have been taken care of, there are repair services, supervision. The union should effectively strive for improvement in working conditions, but there are no evident results.

Second, the union was established by the administration and it is concerned with the interests of administrative personnel. If there are additional health leaves, they are awarded to the masters, and the worker at the furnace may not get them. This is one case. The situation is the same with respect to coupons the steel works received for cars; there are enough for the top, but not enough for the ordinary worker. Who among the rank and file even of the well-paid workers can afford a DAC for 600,000 zlotys? For a Maluch a quarter million must be scraped together, why then does the union agree to assignment of expensive cars?

Third, the wage system. The base pension is only one-half of earnings, the rest is fringe benefits which are hard to recognize. A person goes to the cashier and does not know how much he will get. What is the union doing in this matter?

Fourth, penalties and rewards. With the former there is no difficulty, and no one hears anything about the latter. Who is supposed to fight for justice?

Fifth, matters settled by the union. What are these matters? That these few people will at least get coal? There were always subsidies for this.

Sixth, seventh, eighth... Union activists sit in the office and do not go into the production departments; papers and conferences multiply and there are no results from union activity; a union bureaucracy is being created.

There is much bitterness and subjective judgment in this, but also understandable impatience, for example, with respect to poor working conditions, because this has lasted for years. "But can the new union, active for only several months, be held responsible for all the old neglect?" asks Jan Borkowski, subforeman, working in the steel works for 26 years. Health leaves: It is very bad if a man did not receive one he was entitled to, and this mistake must be corrected. But is it possible not to notice that the privilege of additional rest was extended to cover 2,296 jobs instead of 1,170. Bad wage system: It is difficult to defend it, but one should know that the Federation of Steel Workers Trade Unions has proposed a change in the wage system as one of the first postulates in discussions at the highest levels. Coal allowances: Owing to union action, these will be granted not to a few steel workers, but to 1,652 who cannot get along without coal in their homes.

As is apparent, not all complaints about the union can be regarded as justified. But many complaints are well-founded, and even those that originate in subjective evaluations must be taken into account. It is difficult to evaluate from the outside whether there are too many conferences and directives, whether the activists spend too much time at their desks and too little among people, but such opinions must be considered.

Finally, a reflection. Even if relatively few workers of the Warsaw Steel Works belong to the trade union, nevertheless the opinion is quite widespread that the union is indispensable, if only it were real, a workers union. On whom does this depend, if not on those 90 percent of the work force that are outside the union today?

#### Unions Show Real Care for Workers

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Real Concern for Workers' Interests"]

[Text] The number of trade unions has surpassed 18,000 and includes 3.5 million persons. More than 70 percent of union members are workers, which in an emphatic way describes the character of this most numerous social movement in Poland. A year has passed since the passage of the law on trade unions according to which they were allowed to begin activity at the beginning of the current year. Most plant organizations have already selected their leaders. Alternate federations are being formed. There is an ever-increasing number of examples of concrete problems specific to workers that are being addressed by the unions.

On 19 October the provincial court in Warsaw registered alternate union organizations. The following supraplant organizations have been registered: Federation of Thermal Power Workers Trade Unions with headquarters in Bydgoszcz; Federation of Power Workers Trade Unions with headquarters in Katowice; Federation of Mining Trade Unions with headquarters in Katowice (representing workers in mining facilities); Federation of Unions of Polish Teachers in Higher Schools with headquarters in Warsaw; and Federation of Power Construction Trade Unions with headquarters in Warsaw.

These organizations were given permission to begin activity after the resolution of the court on registration becomes valid. As Stefan Koziaczy, president of the founding committee of the Federation of Mining Trade Unions told a journalist from PAP, 85 trade union organizations have applied for membership in the federation. The most immediate task of the federation is organizational work for the purpose of preparing for a congress and electing leaders. Union members would like to complete this before the miners' holiday, St Barbara's Day.

Registered representatives of the Federation of Mining Trade Unions and Trade Unions of Energy Workers met on the same day with representatives of the Ministry of Mining and Energy in Warsaw. Cooperation between the union organizations and the agency was discussed during the meeting.

Before 19 October there were only 19 registered supraplant union organizations and 798 plant union organizations registered with the provincial court in Warsaw. The following registered recently: Federations of Trade Unions in Light Industry, Construction, the Sugar Industry, and Pollena Industrial Chemistry. On the occasion of the establishment on 18 October of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Bituminous Coal Mines, Mining Works Enterprises, and Mining Industry Shaft Construction Enterprises in Poland, the Secretariat of the International Association of Mining and Energy Trade Unions sent sincere congratulations and best wishes to the president of the council presidium, Rajmund Moric: "Together with the whole brotherhood of miners and powerplant workers organized in our association throughout the world," the dispatch says, "we rejoice because of this momentous achievement of historic significance in the life of your country and its miners' class union movement.

2950  
CSO: 2600/243

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Meeting of Gdansk Trade Union Members

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (zn): "A Meeting of Gdansk Trade Union Members; To Speak With One Voice; 80,000 Members Considered To Be Partners: A Continuous Need for Consultations"]

[Text] Trade union representatives from 300 workplaces in Gdansk Province met yesterday at the DOM TECHNIKA with the province's political and administration authorities. The meeting was attended by PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] secretaries, including Stanislaw Bejger, Politburo candidate member and KW first secretary; the UW [Provincial Office] Administration, including Brigade General Mieczyslaw Cygan, governor of Gdansk Province; the mayors of the province's cities; and the first secretaries of the party's primary-level echelons.

The purpose of the meeting was to inform the trade union members about the province's sociopolitical situation and to hear the opinions and viewpoints of trade union representatives on numerous matters associated with these problems.

The first point of order of the meeting began with the speech by Mieczyslaw Czabowski, PZPR KW secretary, who stated that the statute concerning trade unions resolved the most serious political conflict in the country. The statute has become the basis for creating strong, class trade unions that are independent of the state and economic administrations. Such trade unions are being formed independently by working people. They are being created under very difficult conditions, against the active opposition of political opponents. In spite of this opposition, trade union organizations exist and operate in 76 percent of the province's workplaces, and 80,000 workers belong to these organizations.

The KW secretary stated that emotions and prejudices are gradually subsiding, and the old divisions are disappearing. The conviction is growing that a functioning trade union movement is needed. The majority of trade union members are workers who are its primary promoters. The achieved results lead one to be optimistic.

M. Czabowski said that the slogan "independent trade unions" is used by the opposition in their political struggle against the party. The party also fulfills its leading role in society on the strength of its program and the participation of its members in trade union organizations, but not by orchestrating and issuing instructions. What the party and trade union share is that these are working links and that the party also represents the interests of the working class. Trade unions not only have the right but also the duty to speak out and to combat all symptoms of degeneration of public life, and to combat bureaucracy and insensitive relations with working people. However, it also should be remembered that the struggle for worker interests is also a struggle for production levels. After all, only that can be distributed which is produced.

There is still much mistrust regarding the new trade unions, the KW secretary said at the conclusion. But it is time to make everyone aware that there is room in this regenerated movement for all who want to join us.

Brigade General Mieczyslaw Cygan, the governor, gave a report on the current economic situation and on implementing the plan's assumptions. After 10 months, the basic goals of the province's annual plan are being realized in principle. In socialized industry, sales of produced goods increased 11.3 percent compared to the analogous period last year (the national average is 8.2 percent). Transportation needs have also been realized. About 20.2 million tons of goods have been transshipped by the commercial seaports, that is 32.7 percent more than the same period last year. The ports have realized 90 percent of their annual tasks in the first 9 months.

In agriculture, the purchase of edible cereals is 97 percent complete, and meat purchases are proceeding in accordance with the plan and should be completed by yearend. Nonetheless, the purchasing structure is not satisfactory. But it is anticipated that the planned purchases of milk will be exceeded.

A total of 3,403 housing units have been placed into use, or 59 percent of the annual plan, including 65 percent of socialized construction. In recognizing the expansion of housing construction as one of the priorities of social policy, the housing construction program for the 1983-1990 period has been defined. The program assured 70,000 dwelling units will be built, 50,000 multifamily dwellings and 20,000 single-family dwellings. However, this will not satisfy all the needs in this area. The only way this can be accomplished is by expanding plant housing construction with the participation of the workplaces in developing the land in helping to construct the buildings. Such activities have already been initiated.

Food supplies are improving, and continuous progress in this area is being noted. But the demand for consumer goods is still not being satisfied.

The primary goals of the 1984 socioeconomic plan are:

--maintain the people's essential food level and strive to establish market balance;

--create conditions to expand housing construction;

--improve health care services;

--maintain social services for those groups finding themselves in the most difficult material positions.

The governor stated that success in realizing these goals will be possible only with the close cooperation of the trade unions, the self-governments and the enterprise administrations. Better use of worktime is essential because labor reserves do not exist in the province, and the shortage of housing precludes importing workers from other provinces. Thus, better work organization and more efficient use of human resources are essential.

In the discussions that followed, several questions were raised concerning the functioning of trade unions in workplaces. It was indicated that there was a need to delineate explicitly the interrelationships between the worker self-governments and the trade union organizations. It also was said that the administration often attempts to sidetrack a union, not taking into account the union's opinions. It was emphasized that we will not allow the unions to assume the role of an institution concerned only with supplying work crews with agricultural products during winter or struggling for small wage increases. The unions must express their opinions on the liveliest issues concerning working people. Much is said about consultations with the public. Legally, a number of important questions must be discussed with the trade unions, including the question of wage reform, among others.

Stanislaw Bejger, Politburo candidate member and PZPR first secretary in Gdansk, also participated in the discussion. Among other things, he said that there should be no doubt that the party is interested in the development of strong and independent trade unions. At the same time, he gave assurances that the PZPR KW will help the trade unions in their struggle to be a genuine partner with the administration. The KW first secretary expressed words of appreciation to the activists who organized the new trade unions in particularly complicated situation, and are still working under equally difficult conditions. At the same time, he indicated that it is necessary to expand the trade unions roles as controllers and initiators.

#### Opole Province Union Developments

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (szat): "What the Trade Unions Are Doing"]

[Text] Opole Province has 940 organizational units that can form trade unions. Initiation groups, promotion committees and trade unions are already registered and now operating in 903 units.

The Opole Province Court already had accepted 655 proposals concerning trade union registrations. As of 20 October 1983, 638 have been registered, which places Opole Province among the leading provinces in the country in this matter.

The NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the Strzelca Cement Factory was the first union to register in the province (5 November 1982), and the latest one to register is the NSZZ of the GROMADA National Tourist Cooperative in Opole.

According to data as of 1 October 1983, Opole Province now has over 100,000 trade union members.

Among the region's 10 largest industrial enterprises, the MALAPANEW Mill in Ozimiek can take pride in being the most unionized. Of its 6,497 employees, 3,870 belong to the union. The data for the remaining enterprises are as follows: the Nitrogen Plants in Kedzierzyn-Kozle--1,700 members (6,400 employees); the OTMET Slask Leather Industry Factory in Krapkowice--1,300 (4,700); the BLACHOWNIA Chemical Plants in Kedzierzyn-Kozle--706 (3,906); the ZUP [expansion unknown] Nysa--520 (3,300); the FSD [Delivery Vehicle Factory] Nysa--510 (1920); the K. Swierczewski Mill in Zawadzkie--900 (4,300); FROMTEX in Prudnik--685 (2,582); and AGROMET in Strzelci Opolskie--313 (2,090); and the Coking Plants in Zdierszowice--940 (4,600).

Of the 196 plants, enterprises and institutes located in the city of Opole, 163 already have registered unions (25 others have formed initiation groups or promotion committees). Over 46 unions have been registered in Brzeg and Nysa, 44 in Kluczbork and 41 in Kedzierzyn-Kozle.

In Opole Province's six cities, the number of trade union members exceeds 40,000. Opole has the most--22,391, which includes 6,500 who are PZPR members or candidate members. In Kiedzierzyn-Kozle, 7,430 joined the trade unions (1,721 PZPR members); in Nysa--6,527 (1,420); in Ozimek--4,544 (940); in Brzeg--4,296 (1,278); and in Prudnik--4,183 (1,346).

In Krapkowice, 250 members of the ZZs [Plant Administration] for the new trade unions are young people who belong to the ZSMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth] (the highest such index in the province). Significantly fewer ZSMP members are participating in ZZ work in the remaining cities and gminas. In this regard, Opole has the second highest number--26; Prudnik is in third place with 21. The ZZs in Krapkowice also have the largest number of women.

At the Strzelce Cement Factory, workers constitute 68 percent of the union members. At the K. Swierczewski Mill in Zawadzkie, workers comprise 55 percent of the plant's union organizations.

Opole Province has 20 gminas in which trade unions have been formed (and registered) in all plants. They are Baborow, Kiertz, Lewin Brzeski, Odmuchow, Ujazd, Zawadzkie, Bierawa, Cisek, Domaszowice, Kamiennik, Komprachicice, Lasowice, Pakoslawice, Polska Cerekiew, Popielow, Renska Wies, Swierczow, Turawa, Wilkow and Zebowice.

In 43 of the province's gminas, elections of officers have already taken place in 11 of the registered trade unions. On the regional scale, elections have been held in 617 out of 903 units.

#### Wloclawek Province Meeting with Unionists

Bydogoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (al): "There Are No Problems That Cannot Be Resolved; Trade Union Members Meet with Wolclawek Province Authorities"]

[Text] Late yesterday afternoon representatives of 14 trade unions met with the province's party and administration leaders. The Wloclawek Province authorities were represented by Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] and Governor Tadeusz Gembicki. Also present were Zdzislaw Minett, member of the WRN [Provincial People's Council] Presidium; Wieslaw Czernik, chairman of the province's delegation of deputies; and Hubert Berens, chairman of the Provincial Information-Consultation Team associated with the WRN. The trade unions were represented by Zdzislaw Nadolski, ZZZ ZCP [Plant Administration] of the (Federation of Paper Manufacturers); Jan Pabian, chairman of the ZO ZNP [District Administration of the Polish Teacher's Union]; Kazimierz Wisniewski, Nitrogen Plants ZZ; and representatives from the largest industrial plants in Lipno, Aleksandrow-Kujawski, Rypin and Wloclawek.

Yesterday's meeting is the realization of the promise made on 5 October by Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the PZPR KW, in the name of the province's political-administrative leadership to trade union members during a meeting at the ZAW [Wloclawek Nitrogen Plants].

As a result of mutual agreements, a schedule was accepted which included the proposals made to the provincial authorities and the central administration authorities at the ZAW meeting. Wloclawek Province's authorities were obligated to implement the following proposals:

- to explain the principles for creating and distributing the plant awards fund;
- to allocate housing for doctors and middle-level medical personnel in order for the health services to attract more personnel;
- to examine the possibility of increasing the allocation of land for workers gardens, especially in Wloclawek;
- to accelerate activities associated with land purchased for housing cooperatives for young people in Wloclawek;
- to examine the possibility of initiating the construction of a hospital in Michelin;
- to provide help in organizing transportation for ZAW's workers;
- to accelerate the construction of the MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise] depot;
- to examine the possibility of improving and changing the system for stocking stores;
- to offer promptly drafts of legal acts to the trade unions for consultation, including drafts of the wage system, of price changes and the like;

--to resume commercial construction;  
--to remove the imbalance in social burdens resulting from the crisis (problems of agencies and private stores, individuals declining to work);  
--to establish the rules for remitting the assets of former provincial trade unions;  
--to organize training for plant management cadres on the subject of trade unions;  
--to arrange meetings between the governor of Wloclawek Province and trade union members at the workplaces.

The following proposals were addressed to the central authorities:

--to regulate health service fees;  
--to elucidate the rules for reckoning the social funds in a work cooperative;  
--to develop legal regulations to permit plant housing units to be recovered from former workers;  
--to initiate consultations on pricing in sufficient time;  
--to examine the possibility of exempting trade unions from requiring trade union employees from paying ZUS [Social Security Agency] dues;  
--to regulate the scope of authority for trade unions and worker self-governments.

The adopted schedule precisely defines the contents of the proposals, who is responsible for implementing them, and the manner and time period for their implementation. The participants of the meeting agreed that the trade unionists will report via the mass media the results of executing the agreements. In addition, a complete evaluation of the implementation of the adopted schedule will be done in January 1984.

#### Who Does Not Like Unions

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 29-30 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Maciej Gejsztor: "Who Does Not Like Trade Unions"]

[Text] A year has passed since the Sejm of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] passed the new law on trade unions; 8 October 1982 was a turning point in the postwar history of Poland's trade union movement. On that day all existing registrations of trade unions: autonomous, branch and Solidarity were voided. The difficult and arduous process of rebuilding the bases of new trade union structures then began. The course of this process varied with the individual regions and branches and at the same time the movement's dynamics of development also was linked with society's particular moods and expectations, and with the living and working conditions of the residents of a given area.

Gdansk Province's trade unionists have the least reason to be satisfied. According to the latest data, only 16 percent of all employed workers have joined the new unions, which places the province in last place on the national list. Although trade unions are operating in 582 out of 960 qualified plants, 370,000 workers still remain beyond the reach of trade union activity.

Is this merely a question of Gdansk Province's own "peculiarities" that have been stressed many times on numerous occasions?

An affirmative reply would probably be too much of a simplification, especially since it would excuse us from critical self-reflection, from evaluating our relations to the trade unions, from evaluating what we have done to shape a proper social climate and to create optimal conditions for the regeneration of the trade unions on their own positions and in their own workplaces.

It is true that in this area the new trade unions did not have an easy infancy. Perhaps it was even more difficult than in other regions of the country. The period of infancy took place in an atmosphere of mistrust and often under conditions of bitter struggle against the political opponent who had greater influence in Gdansk than elsewhere. Not everyone wanted or agreed with the tactic to dissolve the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity, in which they placed their hopes, not realizing that it ceased to be a trade union a long time ago.

Solidarity's extremists, who in the 16-month period when the boundary between democracy and anarchy became obliterated, became accustomed to constant jostlings with the government, considered the new trade unions to be puppets created by the authorities as a coercion fostered on a "free society." The fact that the new law on trade unions is unprecedented in its democratism meant nothing to them. In general they did not even take the trouble to read it through.

To be a trade unionist at the 1982-1983 turning point meant something more than it does now, and incomparably more than 5 or 10 years ago, especially in Gdansk. At that time a trade unionist's fellow workers called him a collaborator behind his back, broke into his clothes locker at work, or-- and such things did happen--set his house door afire. And that was the time when overnight graffiti such as "only traitors join the trade unions of the government clique" appeared on the walls.

"We started from zero and even under a cloud," said Jan Pieniazek, vice chairman for organization affairs for the Lenin Shipyard Workers Trade Union in Gdansk.

The events in 1981 convinced people that the government was weak and docile as regards the political opponent. Hence the doubts and lack of faith that the government is capable of overcoming the economic, social and political crisis. At that time, the attitudes toward the new trade unions were an expression of a definite political attitude. I believe that in some ways it continues to be the explanation.

Therefore, for underground Solidarity and the groups sympathetic to it, the new trade unions were "government," "party," or at times simply "red" unions. However, these groups were not influential because 3,942 trade unions were registered as of 15 January 1983, encompassing almost 1 million members. By the end of February, the number of trade unionists exceeded 1.5 million

and today there are 3.5 million. By the end of July, in 16 provinces the trade unions enrolled over 30 percent of all workers, in 12 other provinces they enrolled 25 to 30 percent. Gdansk Province, however, is at the bottom of the list.

When the new law on trade unions was implemented, it was feared that Solidarity extremists would enter the legal structures of the new organizations, that they would attempt to transform them into centers of opposition against the political and administrative authorities. But it did not happen that way. Instead of a "Trojan horse" strategy, the tactic adopted by the underground attempted to discredit the new trade unions in the public's mind. The idea was to exploit the public's disappointments and bitterness and the difficult living conditions brought on by the economic recession, to "plague" that which was beginning to grow, that which is really only beginning to crawl on all fours.

However, it should be emphasized here that the circle of those who do not like the new unions is not limited exclusively to the activists of the underground opposition. Perhaps this latent opponent is even more dangerous to the unions, because externally he manifests support for the unions but in fact he does everything to weaken or eliminate this inconvenient partner. In replying to the critical comments of trade unionists that were addressed to the administration, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski stated at the Baildon Mill meeting that: "It is not the law or the formal regulations that are the primary barriers here, it is instead human frailty resulting either from a lack of experience or from specific oversensitivities dictated by ambitions and, perhaps, in some case from ill will. The latter we will root out consistently."

In speaking about the relation of the administration to the trade unions, one should bear in mind the entire management cadre starting with the general manager of the plant and followed by the department managers and branch managers, shop supervisors and foremen exclusively. The personal example of a superior also must be considered: Is he himself a member of the trade union organization, especially in a shipping enterprise where the rule of a single director is obligatory?

"It so happens," noted Barbara Grodecka, member of the PLO [Polish Ocean Lines] Workers Trade Union Board of Directors, "that after the second or third trip it turns out that a couple of crew members were union members. Being aware of the captain's or section head's attitude, they simply did not want to be known as union members. Of course these are unusual examples, but they do happen."

"In such situations, it is difficult in general to conduct union business on a ship," adds Zbigniew Giera, a member of the board. "Of course, union documents, like all documents, pass through the captain's hands first. We do not demand that they love us, it would be enough if we were not hindered."

For the first time since the end of the war, unions find themselves in a new, qualitatively different situation. Today they must seek members on their own. The old, mechanical period of formalism has ended when the collecting of "promises" at a new workplace was associated mostly with signing a declaration of union membership, and here is where the veritable squaring of the circle begins of which Gdansk shipyard unionists spoke of.

People would join a strong union organization more eagerly, one that would be forceful in its contracts with the administration. But a union will not be strong if it is not a mass union, if the workers themselves do not strengthen its ranks.

"We are weak because we are few," states Jan Pieniazek. (The Lenin Shipyard Trade Union has enrolled only 1,800 of its 12,800 workers.) "People continue to be mistrustful and have no faith in the unions' ability to act on their own. In this enterprise, this is the result of the active work of the political opposition as well. One became aware of their existence at the meeting with Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

"It is very important that the trade unions have a place in a socialist democracy, that the mutual correlation between the trade unions and the leading role played by the Marxist-Leninist party in this system be precisely defined. In March 1982, when it still was not known what the future fate of the trade unions in Poland would be, I wrote in the columns of GLOS WYBRZEZA that a strong party will need strong unions, and both sides must be obligated to this partnership. 'The reborn, class trade unions have a right to expect that the principle "nothing that concerns us can be determined without us" will be observed by the government.'"

Today, when the trade unions have become a force to reckon with in the country, this principle takes on special significance. One of the speakers at the already-mentioned trade union meeting in Katowice said: "We can no longer be ignored, and thus we should be taken seriously by all. Nothing should take place in this country without us, apart from us." Then how can the facts be explained that the Maritime Economy Administration ignores the demands of the trade unions by giving ship crews (who often are thousands of nautical miles away from Poland) barely 1 month's time for consultations on important documents such as the statute draft concerning working on Polish ocean liners; that despite the union's position, it suspends the legal right of workers to make journeys--once every certain time period--on the basis of half-fare tickets?

If the shipping trade unions are not consulted about the new customs and tax regulations, then their members cannot feel that they are partners of the ministries, partners having equal rights.

The trade unions are counting on the help and support of the party's organizations. Legally they are fully justified in this regard in as much as the documents of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee state that in conflict situations existing between the state and economic administrations and the trade unions, the party will help the trade unions to seek solutions

that are just to the working class and the socialist state. The trade unions are neither subordinate to nor superior to the party organizations and echelons and vice-versa; their common task is to create a plane of cooperation in resolving problems establishing the working conditions and well-being of workers.

It should be stated here immediately that this explanation is not always properly understood by everyone. It turns out, however, that pretentious tendencies are beginning to predominate in the trade unions, that the bilateral character of a partnership, its essence, is being neglected. In his program paper read at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, Jozef Czerek said: "A partner not only makes demands but also makes offers; not only takes, but also cares that there are goods to divide."

Still the unions complain--often justifiably so--that the support given to them by party organizations is at times merely of a declarative nature; this may be so because relatively few party members have joined the plant trade unions. For example, at the Gdansk Shipyard only 20 percent of the party members belong to the union, and the situation is the same at other enterprises. The concern here is not--as some believe, unfortunately--about an obligatory injunction that PZPR members join the unions. As a rule the opposite results are achieved. Instead the concern here is about understanding that the relation of a party member to the new trade union movement is an important criterion for evaluating his political attitude. Thus it is not without reason that the material of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee contained the reminder that: "Party members are obligated to participate in trade union activities."

When I spoke with the PLO and Gdansk Shipyard trade unionists, all of them emphasized that one factor of importance to the further expansion of the trade union movement is the material interest of the workers in belonging to a union. Even though--and let us be frank about this--such questions of the type: What will I get out of it? arise, they also mask in a stereotypical way other reasons for shunning the unions that are completely different.

But in order to give, one must have. If union members are few in number and the income from dues is small, then it is difficult to finance statutory benefits, relief fund benefits, holiday payments, and vacations and entertainment for the workers and their families. But the unions are self-reliant and independent and thus self-financing. In spite of this, this year many Gdansk plants are using a system of trade union payments for youth summer camps and vacations, often even for nonunion workers. This came about because the new unions felt obligated to provide benefits to all workers because they inherited the assets left behind by the previous union organizations. But I see no reason why this practice should continue in future years. After all, trade unions are not charitable organizations and do not have to try to please those who are indifferent or ill-disposed toward them.

The country's continuing crisis is not making it easy for the new unions to start. The more difficult this situation is, the greater should be the sensitivity of the unions in observing the principle of just social

distribution, in righting all human wrongs. Where can a merchant mariner go if not to the union when he is laid off as a result of personnel reductions imposed by an antiquated shipper and unprofitable fleet? Who can be a partner with the state and plant administrations by determining workers wages and working conditions? And then again there is the problem of protecting the most disadvantaged social groups against the effects of the recession.

Thus, it is very important that a national federation of trade unions be formed that would represent the interests of entire worker branches, and be a strong partner in discussions with the central authorities. A danger that always threatens union activity, which has already been mentioned here, is submitting uncritically to the pressure of the mass membership as regards increased demands that cannot be satisfied without increased production. It is high time that we put an end in our country to mechanically conceived egalitarianism, and the motto "to each the same" should be changed to "to each according to his labor."

Indifference is the greatest threat to the trade union movement. The trade unionists know that their place and significance in the workplace and their place in the socialist state will depend on how they are going to resolve worker conflicts, on their resoluteness and consistency in protecting and defending the work interests of their members. Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Federation of Mill Trade Unions, probably expressed it best of all at the Baildon Mill meeting: "There would be nothing worse than if our union and management work lead to a situation where people will no longer care, where there would be much indifference and total assent to all situations. As long as a little spark of activity flickers in the hearts of the workers, then there is hope for activity."

And it is the trade unions that should fan this spark.

11899  
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CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW FOR AUSTRIAN DAILY

AU191646 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Dec 83 pp 1,5

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 12 December received Manfred Scheuch, chief editor of the daily ARBEITER ZEITUNG, the central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria [SPOE], to whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Mr President, following the decision of the NATO member countries on the deployment of U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles, the situation in the world has considerably worsened in the past few weeks. Through the letters you sent to the partners in the Geneva negotiations and through other diplomatic actions, Romania has constantly tried to bring about the achievement of disarmament rather than arming. What is your view on the present situation? In your view, are there still hopes for the two great nuclear powers to sit down at the negotiating table and do you plan to make a new contribution in this respect?

Answer: The international situation has worsened considerably as a result of an intensified arms race, particularly of the nuclear arms race, and as a result of other actions aimed at preserving or even redefining spheres of influence.

Recent weeks in particular marked a considerable worsening of the situation in Europe following the deployment of the U.S. intermediate-range missiles in certain West European states. This led to the withdrawal by the Soviet Union from the Geneva negotiations and to the adoption of countermeasures aimed at siting missiles in two European socialist countries and in other parts of the world. These actions will bring about an unprecedented intensification of the nuclear arms race and will increase the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear war--which would mean the destruction of life itself on our planet.

Romania--like other countries--has constantly acted for the achievement of an appropriate agreement in Geneva, so as to halt the deployment of the new missiles and the development of existing ones.

Large demonstrations are taking place in Europe and public opinion, various political figures, and scientific circles are voicing their opinions; various

proposals have been made constituting a real basis for achieving an agreement. However, one can state that the interests of prestige carried greater weight than the interests of achieving a real balance of forces; public opinion and the supreme interests of the European states to not arrive at an intensified nuclear arms race were ignored.

In the face of this situation, the problem is posed of doing everything to halt the application of the measures aimed at siting the U.S. missiles and the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union. To halt the current trend of events, of the nuclear arms race, it is necessary to actually return to the situation before the beginning of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles. This requires a halt to the deployment of missiles, their withdrawal or at least storing away, and a halt to the United States further sending missiles to Europe; at the same time, this presupposes a halt to the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union. On this basis, the Geneva negotiations should be resumed in order to achieve an agreement that will completely halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles.

We believe that it is necessary for the European countries--especially for the countries belonging to the two military blocs--to take a more active stand and to participate in achieving appropriate agreements. In this respect, we have in view a special meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the countries belonging to the two military pacts in order to help resume talks, and we have in view a meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and of the United States and perhaps the preparation of a meeting between the presidents of the two countries.

Along with the beginning of the Geneva negotiations it would be of particular importance that the European countries or at least the countries belonging to the two military blocs take active part, perhaps in the form of a consultative commission that will discuss various proposals and will help reach an agreement that will ensure a balance between the two sides--but a balance based not on new nuclear weapons, but on reducing existing ones to the lowest possible level--and continue to act to completely eliminate any kind of nuclear missiles and weapons from Europe.

We are of the opinion that the proposals that have been formulated up to now are a real basis for achieving an appropriate agreement. It is in the interests of the European peoples and of all world states to halt the current very dangerous trend of events and of the nuclear arms race and to show restraint and proper understanding toward the interests of peace and cooperation. Let us proceed to a real policy of disarmament, cooperation, and peace instead of the policy of the arms race!

Question: Mr President, in your view do prospects exist for applying the proposals for nuclear-free zones in south-eastern Europe? and, in this context, what is Romania's contribution to achieving this proposal?

Answer: Romania has always advocated the creation of an area of peaceful cooperation, without any nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, in the Balkans and in south-east Europe generally. In this context, it is worth

mentioning that in past years a number of meetings have taken place among the Balkan countries--regarding economic and energy matters--and that soon, that is, the beginning of next year, a meeting of experts will take place in Athens to discuss what has to be done in order to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, and an area without nuclear weapons.

In this spirit, Romania will continue to act with great determination proceeding from the good relations it has with all the countries in that area and from the fact that achieving nuclear-free areas in the Balkans and in other parts of the world--such as central Europe or northern Europe--will be of a great significance in the general process of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and in the process of turning Europe into a continent without nuclear weapons, a continent of peaceful cooperation, a united Europe based on equal cooperation among all nations, irrespective of social system.

Question: The problem of security in certain sensitive areas--from a political point of view--outside Europe is closely linked to the new risks entailed by the new escalation of missiles. You, Mr President, are one of the heads of state who has made constant efforts toward achieving an agreement in the Middle East. What is your opinion of that situation at this time?

Answer: In past years a number of new conflicts have emerged which have also contributed to the aggravation of the international situation. The situation in the Middle East has also worsened.

Romania has always advocated the cessation of all military conflicts and the solution of all disputes by negotiations alone. We believe that only in this way can cooperation and peace be ensured.

It is in this direction that we have always acted to resolve the problems in the Middle East by negotiations. As is known, however, once again a particular tension can be noted in the Middle East. There are troops from certain NATO countries in Lebanon and the presence of other states--of the Soviet Union--in the Middle East has strengthened as well. Following this situation, one can say today it is no longer possible to solve the Middle East problems without the active participation both of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Under these circumstances, we believe that it is necessary that the Israeli troops withdraw unconditionally and that a reconciliation and a strengthened unity be reached in Lebanon, and that it is necessary for all foreign troops to withdraw from Lebanon--I am primarily referring to the multinational forces. Up to the withdrawal of those forces, it is necessary that those forces no longer interfere in any kind of domestic problems in Lebanon and stop any military actions against other countries--I am referring to actions against Syria.

At the same time, it is necessary to organize an international conference to achieve a comprehensive political solution and a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I am referring to the participation in such a conference by all countries concerned, including the PLO, the Soviet Union, the United States, and maybe other states as well.

We firmly advocate a solution that will bring about the achievement of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to create their own independent Palestinian state, and the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty, and independence of all countries in that area. We believe that there is room and there must be room for a secure existence of both Israel and an independent Palestinian state. On this basis a lasting peace and coexistence can be achieved on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence among all states in the Middle East.

Question: Mr President, do you see particular possibilities--under the current international circumstances--for a closer and more efficient cooperation between small and medium-sized states, irrespective of whether they are neutral, nonaligned, or members of military blocs, in order to ensure peace and to achieve a new stage in the process of detente?

Answer: The very complex problems of the international situation--political, military, but also economic problems--require the participation of all states, irrespective of social system and size, in resolving them. In particular, we believe that necessary conditions must be ensured for the active participation --on an equal footing--of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing, nonaligned, and neutral countries in resolving all international problems. We believe that the small and medium-sized countries and the group of countries I have referred to are the most interested in resolving all problems in a democratic manner in order to guarantee each nation, irrespective of size or social system, the right to a free and independent development, without any outside interference.

In our view, only an active participation by all states in resolving international problems can lead to viable solutions, to halting the arms race, and to ensuring the vital right of people to life, peace, and independence; only an active participation can open up the road to socioeconomic progress for all nations in the world. And we are convinced that action will be taken in this direction.

Question: Mr President, the current political crisis through which the world is going at this point is, undoubtedly, linked also to the long-term global economic crisis. To what extent is Romania affected by that crisis and what are the means by which it wants to eliminate the effects of this crisis?

Answer: I have mentioned that international tension is determined also by the economic crisis, by the financial policy, and especially by that of the excessively high interest rates which have considerably worsened the situation of the developing countries and have widened the gap between rich and poor countries.

As a developing country, Romania, which is building a socialist society, is acting in close cooperation with all the developing countries to seek ways and means to improve the situation of the developing countries and to achieve progress in their socioeconomic development, and a new international economic order.

Taking into consideration the scope of the world economic crisis--which has practically affected all the countries in the world--this crisis has affected Romania to a certain extent as well. We have taken action to diminish these influences to a great extent. Certainly, some of the problems which have emerged in Romania are linked also to a certain lack of harmony in developing certain branches, and particularly linked to certain lags in implementing the development programs as regards the energy base and that of raw materials. Thus, the measures taken by Romania also included those aimed at more forcefully developing our own energy and raw material bases and at ensuring greater harmony and balance in various sectors of activity. Within this framework we also worked out measures aimed at more forcefully developing agriculture--and they refer to the program of achieving--by 1990, a 60 percent irrigation of the country's arable land, as well as other land improvement work in order to increase the productive potential of our land. Under Romania's conditions, the achievement of irrigation on large plots of lands and an intensive agriculture constitutes a requirement when taking into account that each year we are affected, to a greater or lesser extent, by the lack of rain. For instance, this year we were affected by a long drought and had we not irrigated some 25 percent of our country's arable land we would not have been able to cope with this situation.

Thus, we have in mind that implementing those measures--in the energy field, raw materials, and in agriculture--should lead to a better balance in various economic branches and that they ensure the smooth socioeconomic development of our country and the implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Following those measures, Romanian industry this year will achieve a development rate of almost 5 percent and for 1984-85 we have envisaged an industrial development rate of some 6-7 percent and a 7-8 percent increase in the national income.

Along with this, this year we adopted a number of programs regarding a firmer application and improvement of the new economic mechanism, a more forceful increase in labor productivity, and an improvement in the quality and technical level of the production process, an increased competitiveness of Romanian products in the international market, and the achievement of higher efficiency in all sectors.

All these measures and the results we have achieved have enabled us to adopt the decision on increasing, beginning with September this year, the real wages of all categories of working people by some 5 percent. This demonstrates once again the capability of the Romanian economy to surmount the difficulties that emerged at a given point and at the same time the fact that everything that is being achieved in our society is designed both for general development and for the constant improvement of the people's general well-being--the basic aim of the party's policy and the essence of the socialist society we are building in Romania.

We are convinced that under normal international conditions--and this presupposes first and foremost peace--we will be able to fulfill the targets we

have set forth be devleoping, undoubtedly, broad international cooperation with all the world states, irrespective of their social system.

Question: Your Excellency, it is well known that you had positive personal relations with the former Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky and this was also reflected in a deepening of political and economic relations between the two countries at this point and what do you think are the prospects for developing them?

Answer: I would like to note with great satisfaction the positive relations and the upward evolution of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation between Romania and Austria. An important role in this direction was played by the meetings and talks and by the positive relations that were established between myself and the former Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky. I must stress that, indeed, during our meetings we always reached common conclusions on basic problems concerning both bilateral relations and particularly concerning complex international issues. On this basis our countries cooperated actively in resolving many international problems within the United Nations and within other international bodies.

Taking into account the positive relations between our countries, we believe that there are still great possibilities to constantly develop economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation, and to intensify political contacts. Both Romania's development programs and Austria's development programs offer a basis in this respect. At the same time, the concerns by both countries for a policy of peace and of independence and their active participation in resolving complex international issues offer possibilities for further active cooperation at an international level, particularly now, in order to halt the aggravation of the situation in Europe, to achieve the targets established in the Madrid meeting regarding the conference on disarmament and trust that is to begin in Stockholm in January, and regarding the solution of other complex international problems.

I believe that our countries are interested in actively cooperating and that this is in keeping with the aspirations for progress of both peoples and with the general cause of peace and cooperation.

In conclusion, I would like to extend best wishes for prosperity, well-being, and peace to the readers of your newspaper and to all the friendly Austrian people, as well as wishes for constantly strengthening cooperation and friendship between the Romanian people and the Austrian people.

CSO: 2700/78

GNA PLENARY SESSION ENDORSES 1984 BILLS

Discussion of Items on Agenda

AU152004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15 Dec 83--The proceedings of the eighth session of the current Grand National Assembly [GNA] were resumed in plenum on Thursday, 15 December, in the presence of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Thursday proceedings were attended by Elena Ceausescu, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, the other members of the party and state leadership of Romania. Also present were diplomatic heads of mission accredited in Bucharest, as well as foreign press correspondents.

The following items are on the agenda of the parliament's current session: bill on the adoption of the single national plan for Romania's economic and social development in 1984; bill on the adoption of the plan for the development of agriculture and the food industry in 1984; bill on the adoption of the 1984 state budget; programme for the application of self-management and self-sufficiency measures with a view to ensuring an appropriate supply of population with farm-food produce and industrial consumer goods over 1 October 1983-30 September 1984; bills on the approval of the decrees including norms with the power of law issued by the State Council after the seventh session of the Grand National Assembly.

The proceedings of the session were opened by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

The chairman of the State Planning Committee, Stefan Birlea, read the rationale of the bill representing the first item on the agenda.

For the second and third items on the agenda rationales were read by Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry, and Petre Gigea, minister of finance.

Manea Manescu, vice-chairman of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania, read the Supreme Council's co-report on the three bills.

Vasile Barbulet, secretary of the Commission for Industry and Economic-Financial Activity of the Grand National Assembly, read the joint report of the standing commissions of the Grand National Assembly which endorsed the bills at issue.

In the Thursday afternoon meeting general discussions were conducted on the bills on the agenda. The Grand National Assembly unanimously voted the law of the single national plan for the economic-social development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1984; the law of the plan for the development of agriculture and the food industry in the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1984 and the law of the 1984 state budget of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The proceedings of the session continue.

#### Tesu Report on 1984 Agriculture Plan

AU151858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15 Dec 83--The rationale of the bill on the adoption of the plan for the development of agriculture and the food industry in 1984 presented before the Romanian parliament by Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry, shows that the net farm output and the industrial marketable production are envisaged to increase by 8.9 and respectively 6.8 percent in 1984 as compared with 1983.

According to estimations, the production of cereals (grains) will amount to 29 million tons. Furthermore, increased productions of industrial crops, vegetables, fruit and grapes will be obtained.

Special tasks are assigned in the animal breeding sector as well, livestock and total and average productions being correlated to the programme for the application of the measures of self-management and self-sufficiency with a view to ensuring an appropriate supply of the population with farm food produce.

In the light of the total productions estimated to be obtained, the draft plan also sets growing tasks as concerns the deliveries to the state stock.

The attainment of the levels envisaged in the field of plant production, the rationale shows, implies that all state and cooperative farming units, all farm producers should show greater concern and a higher sense of responsibility for cultivating the whole agricultural area and steadily enhancing the productive potential of land. In view is the showing of two million hectares with double crops.

In animal breeding, attention will be paid to ensuring the fodder base by increasing the per hectare average yields with all fodder cultures. Action will be taken to capitalize the 4.5 million hectares of meadows as well as the verdure available on the three million hectares of grazing forests.

With a view of attaining the targets set under the plan and under the special programmes in agriculture and the food industry, investment funds worth 46.1 billion lei will be earmarked in 1984.

In 1984, the technical-material base of agriculture will increase by 15,700 tractors and a substantial number of cereal and fodder harvesters and other machinery and equipment. Agriculture will make use of 35.5 million tons of

organic fertilizers, 1,830 thousand tons of high-analysis fertilizers and almost 455.7 thousand tons of pest-killers. Three hundred thirty-five thousand hectares will be laid out for irrigation so that by the end of 1984 the irrigated area amount to 3,300 thousand hectares. Drainage operations will be performed on 183 thousand hectares, soil-erosion-control works will be carried out on 342 thousand hectares and land melioration operations will be executed on 273 thousand hectares. Furthermore, large areas of natural meadows will be tended and further sowing and over-sowing operations will be performed on meadows.

As for scientific research, it will concentrate on new technologies, varieties, hybrids and seedlings with a higher productive potential and resistant to low temperatures, drought, diseases and pests. Action will also be taken to improve and create new animal breeds with a higher productive potential. In the food industry, the stress will fall on the superior capitalization of raw materials, the growth of processing efficiency and the manufacture of a wide range of new products and preparations.

#### Gigea Report on 1984 Budget

AU151859 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15 Dec 83--The provisions of the draft budget for 1984 ensures the necessary financial resources for the further development of the branches of the national economy in keeping with the tasks and priorities set in the plan for next year, the financing of socio-cultural activities, administrative expenses and defence expenditure, as well as for other needs of society, Romanian Minister of Finance Petre Gigea stressed in the rationale he read before the country's parliament. The speaker noted that the new budget was balanced showing 308.9 billion lei with both incomes and expenditures specifying that a reserve of 9.2 billion lei was included in the total expenditures for contingent expenses that may occur during the execution period.

Ninety-eight point six percent of the incomes of the state budget stipulated for 1984 derive from socialist units.

State economic units will contribute 187.7 billion lei to the formation of these incomes, that is 60.8 percent of the total incomes of the state budget.

The expenditures included in the draft budget reflect the policy of the RCP and of the Romanian state of ensuring the full financing of the objectives set in the single national plan for the further development of the forces of production, a more marked rise in economic efficiency and higher living standards of the population.

The state budget for next year envisages that a large share of expenditures be, meant for the financing of the national economy, 154.0 billion lei being allotted to this end [sentence as received]. The main share of those expenditures is held by the funds meant to finance investment from the budget which, together with the socialist units' own resources, provide for the integral financing of the investment programme for 1984.

The Romanian minister also said that over 2.1 million lei are to be allotted to scientific research, technological development and application of technical progress, amount that adds to the units' own resources.

Eighty-four point two billion lei are envisaged to meet all citizens' needs for education, health protection, culture, art and sports, just as pensions and other social expenses.

Defence expenditure will stand at 11.7 billion lei, just as in 1983, expression of the policy of peace, detente and international cooperation, the reporter stressed.

Then the minister of finance submitted the final account of the 1982 financial year--which shows 277.4 billion lei with incomes and 257.5 billion lei with expenditures recording a surplus of 19.9 billion lei--to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

#### Gainuse Report on 1984 Supply Program

AU162043 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16 Dec 83--Empowered by the Romanian Government, Deputy Prime Minister Alexandrina Gainuse submitted the self-management and self-sufficiency programme for a proper supply of the population with farm food produce and industrial consumer goods over 1 October 1983-30 September 1984 to the Grand National Assembly for debate and approval.

The programme stipulates an aggregate of measures meant to meet the working people's requirements, ensure a proper supply of the population with a wide range of farm food produce and industrial goods specific to every season, in concordance with the increase of incomes following the rise in remuneration envisaged for 1983 and 1984. Through the mobilization of all the resources of the country, the speaker said, the national economy continued to develop at a sustained rate and an appropriate supply was ensured on this base, in keeping with the growing demands of the working people.

The exemplary implementation of these measures, in conditions of a not too favorable agricultural year and under difficult international economic circumstances, highlights even more powerfully the correctness of the economic policy of the RCP, the scientific character of the measures taken, the superiority of the socialist order, its capacity of surmounting difficulties, mobilize all energies for the firm implementation of the decisions made by the 12th Congress and the national conference of the party.

She showed that the programme had been debated by the plenary meeting of the party, which assessed its correctness, the fact that the levels envisaged fully accorded with the possibilities of the economy and met the requirements of a rational and equilibrated nutrition of all the members of the Romanian society, avoiding any waste. The programme had also been debated and approved by the highest bodies of the Romanian socialist democracy.

The programme also has provisions for the third quarter of next year, conditions being thus provided for the continuity of an appropriate supply of the population over a 12-month period (1 October 1983-30 September 1984).

Substantial growths were envisaged with the main products as to the same period of the previous year. Thus, with slaughtered meat and poultry the rise is of 52.8 thousand tons, with meat preparations--87.3 thousand tons, milk--802 thousand hectolitres, dairy products--729 thousand tons, potatoes--183 thousand tons. Substantial increases are stipulated with other farm food produce as well.

The supply with industrial products holds an important place in the programme, substantial growths being envisaged in function of demand and existing resources. As part of the modernization drive a new range of clothes will be manufactured, differentiated by categories of quality, in keeping with the plan provisions, which should satisfy the working people's exigencies and preferences to a larger extent.

As for durables the quantities to be supplied to the population will grow by 12-15 percent on an average. Three hundred ninety-eight thousand radio receivers, 328 thousand TV sets, 295 [thousand] washing machines, furniture worth 6.4 billion lei a.o. [among others] will be made available.

In conclusion the speaker submitted the programme for approval to the Grand National Assembly considering that it provides the legal framework for the fulfillment of the provisions regarding the rise in the standard of living.

Session Ends 16 December

AU161158 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The eighth session of the current legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] ended in Bucharest today at noon.

Today, at the last plenary session which took place in the morning, the deputies adopted the program on self-management and self-supply for ensuring the people's proper supply with agricultural products and industrial consumer goods from 1 October-30 September 1984.

Comrade Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary, reported on the draft bills for endorsing the decrees including norms with power of law issued by the State Council after the seventh GNA session. The report of the constitutional and juridical commission in connection with these draft bills was presented by Comrade Ioan Salajan, commission chairman. The deputies then gave the abovementioned documents power of law.

At the end of this morning's session, GNA Chairman Nicolae Giosan extended, on behalf of the GNA Bureau and shortly before the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic and of the New Year 1984, warm congratulations to the deputies, together with best wishes for good health, and wishes for new successes in their fruitful activity. With this, the GNA chairman declared the eighth session of the eighth legislature of the country's supreme forum as closed.

CSO: 2020/46

RESULTS OF MILITARY TRAINING FOR FEMALES ANALYZED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 83 pp 4-5

[Article by Mijo Vlasic: "The First Women with Military Papers"]

[Text] Just a few days ago, the members of the first generation of women soldiers left their barracks behind. After 3 months of training and specialized military preparation they have become a part of the YNA and the territorial defense, increasing the strength of our defense echelons.

The women comrades who voluntarily began 3 months of military training in early July are again back in their civilian dresses, skirts, and pants. In a few days, the October group of soldiers of the fairer sex will enter the rooms in which they stayed.

What can be said about the first generation of women soldiers? Did they successfully complete the 3-month period of defense training?

One should recall from the start that the number registering for the voluntary military training of women was quite large, and well above expectations according to those who should know. In all republics, the number of young women who signed up for the military was far greater than had been expected for the first, experimental generation, and was far greater than planned for. In some places, only 1 in 10 who signed up was called for training, and in other places only 1 in 20 or 30 received a summons from the army.

After passing the very strict medical exam and meeting all the psychological requirements for military training, only a small number of women found themselves in the army barracks.

Evaluations were made and reported to the women soldiers. The level of their specialized training was recorded on their ID cards, and they will receive a military classification in the YNA and the territorial defense just like their male counterparts.

Although the first generation of female soldiers could not be large enough to include anywhere near the total number of young women who voluntarily signed

up for military duty, the very fact that several hundred of them took part in military training and completed the course successfully is indisputable evidence that the first important step in the introduction of women into the armed forces has been made.

#### Rapid Adaptation

The arrival of women in the YNA for training was not a surprise to most people in our society because it has happened in other countries. Women have been wearing the army uniform and taking the military oath for quite some time in many armies around the world. But their arrival did arouse considerable curiosity and provoked attention, especially in less informed individuals for reasons known only to them. However, one can say quite readily that there is nothing more appropriate for our social and political system and for the conception of an all-people's defense--which is all-inclusive--than to prepare women for armed combat in an organized manner under expert leadership and supervision, and under organized conditions which are the best available.

#### What did the women prove?

The first meeting with the environment of the barracks and the military confirmed that the young women were knowledgeable about military rules and regulations to a considerable extent, because everyone who was summoned arrived on time, and some even arrived a few hours earlier than the time designated in the summons. The first few days passed in more or less the same way, even when the men arrived at the barracks. This was the initial stage of curiously investigating and feeling out the environment, the rooms, the schedules, and the people. The young women proved that they could adapt themselves very quickly and easily to the barracks environment. They accepted the early awakening, they had no trouble with formations, or with the strenuous hours of training. The food, the uniforms, and the other components of the military standard were understood as a reflection of the concern of the community that their stay in the YNA be made as easy as possible.

There were no special difficulties with the military training, although some of the officers had some apprehensions as to whether the delicate feminine shoulder would be able to handle automatic rifles, whether their feet, accustomed to high heels, would be able to get used to high-top army boots, whether the diverse habits of everyday civilian life acquired over the course of many years would affect the vigorous and strictly regimented life in the barracks.

And the most confirmed skeptics and doubting Thomases about women soldiers were for the most part proved wrong. The women easily and quickly got up at reveille, and endured the hours of military training and extracurricular activities almost as easily as school activities in high school. They liked the food, they were not restricted by military regulations which require young people in uniform to respect in a strict manner the daily work agenda. The uniforms did not restrict them nor keep them from expressing their personalities, and they were involved in their own defense training to the greatest possible extent.

### Subjects with Responsibility

Lieutenant Mladen Pjevcovic, the commander of a platoon of women soldiers in the Belgrade "4th of July" barracks, recorded his observations about female soldiers and how they were getting on in the YNA from the first day. He was with them from reveille to dinnertime, and could often be found in the barracks when taps were sounded.

"Although we officers had special preparation for the training of women soldiers, I did not think that everything would go so smoothly. Probably somewhat due to prejudice and somewhat due to lack of complete familiarity with the pyschology of women, I was quite satisfied when I observed during the first few days that they related to their military duties in a very disciplined, responsible, and conscientious way. I found them all to be good coworkers and to the greatest extent possible they were good subjects for defense training. They never wanted to give an image of themselves as being less capable members of the defense formation."

"How did they do in the tactical training, on the firing range?"

"In individual training and in squadron training they mastered quite well all tactical operations and battlefield procedures, and I am convinced that they would conduct themselves in a completely military manner, without difficulties, in armed combat. According to the scores they achieved on the firing range, they were no better and no worse than men of the same age. The majority of them shot quite well, and most of the others reached this level after a short supplemental training period.

"There were Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Albanians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs among the women, in the same ranks," says Lieutenant Pjevcovic. "Just as in units made up of young men serving their military obligation, the members of the female units were from all of our nations and nationalities. However, they did not know each other by this criterion. We met them and got to know them in the same way. They quickly and easily made friendships and they gave each other nicknames which stayed with them, and which they will remember their whole lives as a memory of the days they were in the army. Mirjana Popovic from Ivanjica became Misko, Milica Maric from Aleksandrovac was Breska, Silvana Juras from Split, Ciz, Jozica Volcjak from Novo Mesto, Jozi, Ines Nemak from Zagreb, Kreker, etc.

They had known each other by their nicknames, and on the day of departure they wrote their nicknames in each other's notebooks first, and then put their real first name and surname.

### Against Special Treatment

The women soldiers were almost of the same mind in answering all the questions about the military training.

"Separate rooms were not provided in the unit's present clinic in which the women soldiers, who had to be under the supervision of a doctor for a period

of several days, could lie down. In these cases, we now send them to the unit to spend time in their own bedrooms. We need to consider the possibility of creating a separate room in the barracks in which the women soldiers could lie down."

#### Analyses and Evaluations

Psychologists and other people involved in the sciences who have carefully followed the whole course of the women's soldiering as part of their own field of work, will provide their own most thorough and competent analyses. They have carried out all sorts of complex psychological tests which quite certainly will help to provide valuable information and help to make the best decisions regarding all subsequent generations, as the tests are based on observations and learned perceptions about the stay of the first generation of women soldiers in voluntary training.

It is of interest, perhaps, that the first generation had men officers for the commanders of platoons and squads. But the second generation, which arrives in the barracks in a few days, will have fellow female soldiers as their commanders who have completed the school for reserve officers.

However, the fact that men officers, not women officers, were in charge in no way prevents the army officers from giving their full and honest opinions about the training.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ludvik Krajnc, an officer from the unit command in which the women were in training, was personally present at instruction on several occasions. Moreover, he chatted with the women about their lives, their lodgings, studies, food, trips to the city, and weekend leaves whenever he had the chance.

"We were quite satisfied with the first generation of women soldiers. All the areas of study provided for, according to the instruction program, were successfully mastered," said Lieutenant-Colonel Krajnc. "Considering that we did not have experience with the training of women, the command directly responsible for instruction will complete a detailed analysis of the 3 months stay of the women in our unit, and I am sure that we will be better prepared for, and better able to welcome, the next generation of women soldiers, although whenever I spoke directly with the women, they did not have any complaints. On the contrary, they were quite complimentary."

Lieutenant-Colonel Krajnc said that a request which was made to him personally by two Milica's--Vujic and Mapic--only 5 or 6 days before the end of training, could serve as confirmation of all this. They asked him to see if it would be possible for them to spend one more term in the service. Their request was sent to the higher command. What the answer will be will be known only after the request is carefully considered.

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SOCIOLOGISTS' GATHERING DESCRIBED

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[Article by Slobodanka Ast summarizing the "1983 Sociological Encounters," held in Portoroz: "Who Out There Is Winning a Triumph?"]

[Text] How right are those cynics who say that the crisis is not only the greatest, but also the most promising, challenge for sociology?

Following the "1983 Sociological Encounters," which have just ended in Portoroz, the assertion still stands unambiguously that the situation which our society has confronted in recent years is unquestionably a great challenge for sociology, which, as a "critical reading of social practice" is supposed to help with its studies of social problems in finding a way out of the present crisis.

The Portoroz discussion of the processes of integration and disintegration in Yugoslav society confirms that these are not theoretical and academic questions, but a problem whose solution is demanded by the everyday life of a majority of members of Yugoslav society.

Where Are the Roots?

The sociologists have been trying to answer the questions as to which dominant social relations are at the moment in a position to exert an essential influence on the processes of disintegration and integration in our society, what is the main line of differentiation with respect to interests which is leading to the greatest forms of social disintegration?

If we listen to public opinion, says Radomir Lukic, member of the academy, the belief is predominant that the Federation is to blame for many things, including the disintegration of Yugoslav society. However, Lukic says, the differing economic interests of the various parts of Yugoslavia constitute the main factor driving us apart. Which is why the development of the economically underdeveloped has also been a first condition for stronger unification. This is, of course, easy to say, but difficult to accomplish, Lukic said pithily.

The man who follows the news media cannot escape the impression that the differing nature of the interests of the republics and provinces (which to many will also signify the differing nature of "ethnic interests") has been the most frequent and also the most important form of interest-based differentiation in Yugoslav society, Silvano Bolcic points out, and adds that for many analysts of the Yugoslav situation the disintegration is above all the result of affirmation of the so-called national economies and the increased "political autonomy" of the republics and provinces. Without ignoring the importance of the process of "political autonomization" to the disintegration of Yugoslav society, Bolcic warns that the process of disintegration of both the economy and of other fields is not stopping short at the borders of the republics and provinces. He is convinced that deeper social roots have to be sought for the disintegration of our society and indeed the social basis of the interest-based differentiation.

In a recent study of "opposed interests" in Yugoslav society, which Bolcic directed, it was noted that the main line of interest-based differentiation is somewhat different than one might conclude on the basis of information from the news media. For two-thirds of the respondents (in Serbia, Macedonia and Slovenia) differences in social status are the basis of the opposition of interests in our society. In that survey the other data also confirm that the main line of interest-based differentiation is "class-stratum" or social.

Bolcic concludes: "Ultimately a majority of the conflicts of interest in Yugoslav society, whether they arise directly as conflicts of social strata, occupation or interests of work organizations or of sociopolitical communities, arise precisely as a consequence of an unsuitable and inequitable social evaluation of labor."

If the tones about the ways out of the crisis were dissonant in many respects, the sociologists do agree that unless the League of Communists undergoes class and democratic reform, it would not be possible to even think about the possibilities of getting out of the crisis. In view of the real political power, role and place of the LC in our society, positive growth or further aggravation of the undesirable trends in society depend to a great degree on what happens in the League of Communists.

Even certain discussions in which, the assessment was made in the gathering, "there was a danger of sliding from the professional level to that of the political activist," emphasize the leading role of the LCY. Several of the participants in the discussion attempted to analyze why the processes of social disintegration, from the economy to politics and culture, are occurring in the face of the general political proclamations and sound ideological principles: from the principle of the unified Yugoslav market to the aspiration of preserving the unity of the LCY, to brotherhood and unity as the basic principle of our existence.

"Is the appeal to those principles much more a matter of ideological inertia than of our real willingness and indeed of conviction that these principles should be adhered to even under present conditions? Are we now behaving inconsistently, or in our political and social practice have we consciously

taken up certain other principles which necessarily and logically lead to the processes of disintegration?" Certain of the other papers offered an answer to these questions contained in the paper of Mihailo Popovic.

#### Conflict of Loyalties

In his paper entitled "Unity of the LCY--Precondition of Social Integration" Vladimir Goati expressed the view that these events can be explained by the fact that certain parts of the LCY (the republic and provincial organizations of the LCY) have been guiding social development without giving sufficient consideration to the whole. Goati feels that the key issue is what the real distribution of power is in the LCY: more precisely, on what the pronounced power of the republic and provincial level in the LCY is based on.

Leaving to one side the question of whether the present method of election of the leadership of the LCY is in conformity with the provision of the bylaws which makes the congress the supreme body of the LCY, and also the question of whether this is in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism which has been explicitly adopted in the LCY, Goati points out that the present electoral procedure inevitably leads to a strengthening of the power of the republic or provincial level as opposed to the federal level, since the career of an LCY official depends entirely on those levels.

To be specific, LCY officials are elected by the republic and provincial organization, while the LCY Congress, made up of delegates of all members of the LCY, merely verifies the election.

LCY officials inevitably pay closest attention to the interests and demands of their "constituency." This is especially evident when the interests of their own republics and provinces do not fit in with the interests of Yugoslavia. In such a situation, which is not merely hypothetical, the professional officeholder inevitably experiences a kind of "conflict of loyalties." The epilogue of this conflict is easy to surmise....

The method of electing officials is not only an independent variable of the given level of (dis)unity of the LCY, but to a great extent its result as well, Goati says.

The sociologists have made their contribution in numerous discussions of the processes of disintegration in the Yugoslav economy. In this domain the greatest attention was certainly drawn to the presentation of Josip Zupanov, who feels that nontechnological and noneconomic factors of integration are a millstone about the neck of Yugoslav economic integration.

#### Removal of the Blockade on Knowledge

Several of the papers dealt with the "evergreen" [in English in the original] topic of the party and the intellectuals. Invigoration of the strong intellectual potential in the LCY is one of the most important possible factors of integration in our society and a precondition of overcoming the present crisis more rapidly and successfully, several of the participants emphasized in

the discussion. The economist Branko Horvat noted in his written paper that there is a socialist continuity in the Yugoslav intelligentsia and emphasized that the tensions, the conflicts and the disagreements do not arise between the intellectuals and the LC, but between the intellectuals and the officials and forums of the LCY.

Rudi Supek also spoke on this topic--according to him the key problem is selection of personnel in socialist society.

Veljko Rus is also of the opinion that one of the main problems in society is breaking the ice jam that is holding up the intellectual potential. Rus emphasizes that he is not referring only to unemployed young people, but primarily to activation of all the intellectuals--from the social to the technical intelligentsia. This removal of the blockade, this unblocking of knowledge and ability, as Rus puts it, is a precondition for strengthening the processes of integration in society and for greater success in finding a way out of the crisis.

Veljko Rus points to several key points in the removal of this blockade: restoration of autonomy to the university (the 1975 law resulted in negative selection of personnel in his opinion); a greater role of specialists, who in enterprises have been pushed out to marginal positions, while the lower-level and middle-level personnel, which have revived, have brought about a blockade of both the top and the bottom. The syndicalization of the professional associations would be the best cure for dangerous anomie, Rus feels.

#### An Unrealized Forecast

Even before the "1983 Sociological Encounters" were held, forecasts were made that the meeting in Portoroz would be a "triumph of crisis-ology," a flood tide of faultfinding and pamphleteering. Probably urged on by these accusations, Jozef Goricar, dean of our sociology, expressed a categorical assertion as to the "socialistic legitimacy of this meeting."

Arguments which might be interpreted as a "dissent from the theoretical to the political level" encountered closely argued criticism at this meeting. Svetozar Stojanovic, for example, whose paper was the subject of common gossip, it seemed, even before it was written, described our social situation as a "social totality preceded by a political sign." He sees the way out of the crisis through greater democratization of the LCY. The real political atmosphere for activity of the "communist party" (his expression) would be, according to Stojanovic, a new "League of Socialists" as well as the existing Federation of Trade Unions, provided it undergoes democratization. Stojanovic's arguments met with quite a few critical objections in the section for social movements. The League of Socialists is actually the Socialist Alliance, and the entire idea, Albin Iglicar, reporter of the section, said, is "Kardelj's vision of the SAWP which is not being carried out."

Neither "crisis-ology" nor sociology was triumphant in Portoroz.

The sociologists were critical, but still more perhaps were they self-critical. Many questions had been left unarticulated, so they concluded in the plenary meeting. They judged that there are no major synthetic studies of the nature of Yugoslav society, but not only because of disintegration along the line between politics and science, but also because of the processes of disintegration among sociologists themselves!

No answer was given to the question of what the processes of integration are in Yugoslav society, what it is that binds us together. There were those who said that we do not have a single Yugoslav project, a multinational, interrepublic and interfaith project which would answer that vital question.... Why indeed has there been no such research? To what extent is Academician Lukic right when he asks, half in jest--Are we afraid of the results? To what extent does there really exist a fear of articulating real attitudes?

It was pointed out that there has not been sufficient analysis of the role of ideology in integrative, but also disintegrative processes.

Zoran Vidojevic presented the opinion that the problem of the strategy of a way out of the social crisis, and above all the problem of the possible protagonists, had been neglected in these sociological encounters. There were no answers to the unavoidable question of who is the principal social protagonist of the way out of the crisis. What is happening to the working class? Today there are many more disintegrative than integrative elements in its makeup.

Srdjan Vrcan warned that in analyses of the social crisis the sociologists are paying little attention to external factors which are favoring the crisis. He does not regard them as dominant, but he estimates them to be extremely dangerous. Vrcan emphasizes that we dare not underestimate these external factors, since they are an integral part of the long-term strategic decisions of others which are aimed among other things at disintegration of our society.

It was said by some that our sociology does not at this point possess even enough empirical data (certainly not through its own fault) or enough theoretical knowledge to be able to analyze in an integral way the essence of what is happening in the tissue of our society.

Nor, let us add to these remarks, was there any very profound analysis of the phenomenon of the hypertrophy of self-management as an institution and atrophy of self-management as a movement. It was Josip Zupanov who back a year or two ago gave the cue for studying the "institutional gigantism" cut to the measure of the ancient heroes, but not to the measure of workers and the common man.

#### A Sociological Babel

The impressive number of participants--more than 200, the flood of papers (80), the exhausting pace of the discussions and the great diversity of the sections inevitably resulted in the raising of many issues in this

heterogeneous gathering, while real possibilities for scientific communication were reduced to a minimum. Or, as Academician Radomir Lukic remarked in his own personal style: "The most important issues were not dealt with fully. It is like a meal without salt!"

Indeed it was a virtual sociological tower of Babel.

Although perhaps they had lost that "grain of salt," the sharpness and depth of views from the sixties or thereabouts, the most recent encounter of the sociologists nevertheless did show the strength and youth of this lively scientific community. The fate of our sociology does not after all depend on "founding fathers." Certain lucid analyses of the scarce sociological surveys nevertheless represent a good precondition for social action.

After all, as Joze Goricar put it, we will alter society according to better and more progressive solutions only if we take as our point of departure the actual situation, not some normative idealism.

[Box, p 21]

#### Where Are the Causes of Apathy

Joze Goricar pointed to certain indicative results of a survey entitled "Slovenian Public Opinion," which has been conducted for more than 10 years now by the Raziskovalni Institut pri Fakulteti za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo [Research Institute of the School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism] of Ljubljana University.

In answer to the question "Do you feel that in today's context there is something in particular we should pledge ourselves to without sparing resources, efforts and time?" the negative answers comprised the largest group (37.8 percent), while more than half of the respondents were more or less uninterested! The researchers point to the unambiguous flood of apathy, a lack of interest in sociopolitical events.

Where are the causes of this wave of apathy and lack of interest? Goricar feels that perhaps one of the answers is offered by this year's survey entitled "Slovenian Public Opinion": in response to the question "Does our citizen have an opportunity to influence decisionmaking concerning important social problems?" 54.4 percent of those surveyed answered in the negative. In response to the question "In making important decisions do the politicians give any consideration at all to the opinions of the working people and citizens?" 63 percent answered "Very little, generally they do not."

Joze Goricar called attention to a significant contradiction in the responses of public opinion--on the one hand there is an advocacy of self-management, but at the same time those functions of the government are advocated which indisputably are holding back the development of self-management! This contradiction indicates the high degree of ideological differentiation among the respondents, which under certain conditions could degenerate into a real social differentiation concerning the future development of self-management or against it, Goricar emphasized.

The several years of research done by Petar Klinar of the processes of integration and disintegration in Yugoslavia also show dramatic changes--disintegrative factors are on the rise, while those favoring integration are dropping off sharply.

Several of the researches presented in Portoroz confirm that the "statist syndrome" is very much alive and that it has taken root in all segments of society, from young people to the bureaucratic elite.

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